

Methodism's _____

CHALLENGE
in
RACE RELATIONS

_____*A Study of Strategy*_____

By
J. Philip Wogaman

Foreword by
Edward K. Graham

BX8428
.W84

Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C.

Methodism's Challenge in Race Relations

A Study of Strategy

"This study is a brilliant synthesis of the insights of the social sciences and the norms of Christian social ethics. Philip Wogaman shows how a major Protestant denomination may come creatively to grips with the practical crises of race relations in its own life."

— WALTER G. MUELDER
Dean, Boston Univ. School of Theology

◆ ◆ ◆

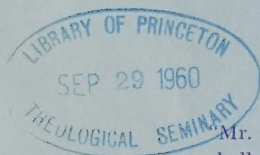
"From my twenty-five years of experience in the local church, I recommend *Methodism's Challenge in Race Relations: A Study of Strategy* as a large reservoir of information about this critical problem in our church. It is illuminating, objective, and incisive."

— GEORGE A. WARMER
Vice President for University Affairs,
Boston University

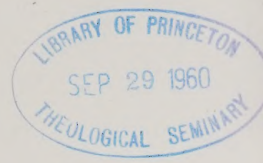
◆ ◆ ◆

Mr. Wogaman has provided a concise and scholarly outline of Methodism's challenge in race relations in its own internal structure. Against this background he provides a number of creative suggestions for action, some of which were not before the Commission of Seventy. Careful analysis of this study may well help Methodism deal responsibly with one of its most vexing problems at the 1960 General Conference and in the years ahead."

— PAUL K. DEATS, JR.
Associate Professor of Religion in
Higher Education
Boston Univ. School of Theology



BX8428
.W84



Methodism's Challenge in Race Relations

A Study of Strategy

By
J. PHILIP WOGAMAN

Foreword by
EDWARD K. GRAHAM

Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C.

COPYRIGHT © 1960, BY J. PHILIP WOGAMAN

PUBLISHED BY PUBLIC AFFAIRS PRESS
419 NEW JERSEY AVENUE, S.E.
WASHINGTON 3, D. C.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NO. 60-11712

PUBLISHED BY ARRANGEMENT WITH BOSTON UNIVERSITY PRESS

Foreword

"WE CANNOT RECOVER THE PAST," Carl Becker reminds us, "but we can, within the limits set by nature and history and our own intelligence and resolution, make the future . . . We make the future either by default or on purpose, and since we help to make the future in any case, it is better to make it not by letting things ride, but by having some idea of where things ought to go and doing whatever is possible to make them go in that direction."

Now Mr. Becker was writing at high flood tide of World War II, assuredly a time of crisis. He was talking about what we hopefully called, in those days, the Postwar World. The principle that he states in such simple terms is a universal, however, and it applies with telling force to the current social crisis that concerns John Philip Wogaman in *Methodism's Challenge in Race Relations*.

By and large, we have some idea of where things ought to go. It is the matter of doing whatever is possible to make them go in that direction that gives us trouble. Protestantism in particular is plagued by the critical gap that exists between the nature of our witness and the calibre of our actions. Nowhere does this gap yawn more dangerously than when we try to face—or try not to face—the question of man living with man as brother, within our own churches.

What does all this say to Methodism? To the author's way of thinking, it says a great deal. While he is writing in the immediate framework of The Methodist Church, the challenge that he sees for the Church is the challenge for everybody.

It is within this concept of the challenge for everybody that the vital significance of this book

lies. The not-too-remote analogy between the organization of The Methodist Church, and American political organization from local to national levels, is inescapable. At virtually every point where the author describes and analyzes obstacles to desegregation within the Church, the reader senses a parallel to familiar obstacles which he has encountered in the fabric of his own community, or in some broader context. But the insights and the angle of attack make all the difference. The light cast on the anatomy of prejudice, and ways to meet prejudice, will have an impact far beyond the extensive boundaries of the Church.

There are other reasons why The Methodist Church provides a provocative setting for a study of this sort. We are concerned here with a connec-tional church—that is, one where the thread of continuity with respect to commitment runs through all jurisdictions, through the local churches, the annual conferences, and the general conferences. If the problem can be solved anywhere, it can be solved here. Then there is the ecumenical character of Methodism itself, which gives promise that progress within the Church may well have a brush fire effect throughout the great expanse of temporal as well as spiritual territory that Methodism regards as no more than its neighborhood.

The opportunity for leadership that rests uneasily on the Church—as it would rest uneasily on anyone—holds out the buoyant hope that solving the problem within the ranks of Methodism may point the way toward elimination of the nation's most corrosive social illness, and toward a more healthy state of the national conscience.

EDWARD K. GRAHAM
Dean, The Graduate School
Boston University

Preface

THE crucial challenge to Methodism in race relations is posed by the contradiction between its deep commitment to fellowship without racial barriers, on the one hand, and the racial segregation which is typical of most of its own life as a church, on the other. The challenge is to discover ways of bridging the gap between the present realities and the normative commitment. The present study may be understood as an attempt to do this by utilizing the insights of the social sciences in planning for the effective racial desegregation of The Methodist Church—one of America's great Protestant denominations. The idea of strategy and planned social change is one which is increasingly commanding the attention of social scientists. With an ethical commitment not alien to that of devoted churchmen, many of them are attempting to relate the growing wealth of knowledge contributed by the social sciences to the specific problems of modern times. In planning strategies for social change they have thus sought to implement important values with the greatest possible intelligence. The present study is an attempt of this kind.

It is the writer's belief, however, that such planning must be carefully disciplined for it to be relevant to a religious community. In particular, it is felt that any strategy within the church must give careful attention to the appropriateness of its objectives and to its ethical presuppositions. Accordingly, the planning of strategy in this analysis is based upon consistency with the following criteria: (1) the appropriate Methodist goal of a fellowship without racial barriers, (2) appropriate ethical presuppositions, (3) relevant insights of the social sciences, (4) limitations and possibilities inherent in the institutional structures of The Methodist Church, and (5) limitations and possibilities suggested by the relationships between The Methodist Church and the wider community and culture of which it is a part. The first two of these criteria are dealt with systematically in Chapter Two. The third forms the subject matter of Chapter Three. And the last two form the background of Chapters One, Four, Five, and Six.

Several limitations deserve mention here.

First, this study is concerned primarily with strategy, as distinct from tactics. Strategy may be understood as the general enlargement and organization of the capacity to achieve a chosen objective in the most effective way. Tactics, on the other hand, is the use which is made of strategy in the immediate situation by persons having a grasp of immediate problems and opportunities. It is not anticipated that this inquiry will provide any substitute for creative leader-

ship in the church on the part of members and leaders who are directly involved in racial problems and concerns. Nevertheless, the analysis will not be entirely devoid of "tactical" elements in its discussion of current problems in The Methodist Church. This is particularly true of Chapter Six, which deals with the national level of the denomination.

Secondly, the study will focus upon the objective of racial desegregation, as distinct from racial integration. Desegregation implies the removal of institutional and social patterns which act as barriers to full social interaction. Integration suggests a more complete achievement of organic social unity. This limitation is accepted here, however, because desegregation is regarded as a necessary, though not sufficient, precondition to full racial integration in situations where segregation exists. It is fully defensible to assume that an effective strategy for racial desegregation will also advance racial integration, although the achievement of the former goal will doubtless leave progress yet to be made in terms of the latter.

Thirdly, the study is limited to desegregation insofar as it affects the Negro. From time to time other groups have been segregated within the church, but generally these groups have been much smaller and the problem has been complicated by language barriers. Many of the findings which follow will, however, doubtless be applicable to other groups.

Finally, this study of strategy is limited to three basic levels of The Methodist Church: the local church level, the annual conference and Episcopal Area level, and the national level. These are felt to be the most significant institutional levels of the church for present purposes. Systematic treatment here of every institutional structure in the church would probably involve a considerable amount of duplication and overlapping which would be strategically uneconomical. Nevertheless, other levels of the church and less important institutions will be considered where strategy warrants, and it is felt that many of the findings of the study will be applicable to institutions (such as the district and jurisdiction) which are not systematically considered. Indeed, at many points it is possible that this study will prove relevant to denominations and religious groups other than The Methodist Church.

The material contained here was originally developed as a dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Division of Theological Studies of Boston University Graduate School, under the title, "A Strategy for Racial Desegregation in The Methodist Church."

It is felt that much of the first chapter of the dissertation and many of its quotations and footnotes are unnecessary for a published version, and these have accordingly been deleted. Persons desiring to refer to the fuller documentation of the dissertation itself may normally have access to it through application to the Boston University Graduate School or to University Microfilms of Ann Arbor, Michigan (after June, 1960). Aside from these and other minor changes, however, the present publication is virtually the same as the dissertation. While it is unusual to publish a doctoral dissertation without extensive literary revision, it is being done in this case because of an immediate demand for the material prior to the 1960 General Conference of The Methodist Church and because all persons wishing to use this kind of study would normally be concerned with the quality of its methodology and documentation.

Discerning Methodist readers will note that this study was completed in late 1959—after the report of the “Commission for Study and Action on the Jurisdictional System” had been completed but before the publication of that document had given rise to a wave of response both inside and outside of the denomination. Although this study discusses that report and has special relevance to it and to the 1960 General Conference, it is believed that the principles of strategy proposed here will be of continuing use.

Many individuals and groups have rendered valuable assistance at various points in the preparation of this material.

The Lilly Foundation provided a fellowship grant covering the academic year 1959-60 during which the research and writing has been completed.

The students of Boston University School of Theology have, by their generous and enthusiastic support, made the publication and distribution of the manuscript possible. Their encouragement and support and that of many other individuals and groups is gratefully acknowledged.

The Boston University Graduate School has graciously given permission for the publication of the dissertation, and its Dean, Dr. Edward K. Graham has kindly provided a Foreword. Dr. Jannette E. Newhall has given assistance with many of the formal problems in preparing the manuscript, and Dr. Robert E. Moody has given constructive guidance on matters relating to publication.

The faculty of Boston University School of Theology has been a source of guidance and inspiration through years of study. More specifically, the members of the faculty research project, “The Methodist Church in Social Thought and Action” (MESTA), have given the writer access to many valuable materials which have been assembled for the purposes of that study.

Many persons have contributed understanding to the research through interviews and correspondence. Space, unfortunately, does not permit direct acknowledgement here of the scores of Methodists and non-Methodists all over the country who have extended this assistance. Some of these people might, of course, wish to disagree emphatically with some of the conclusions of the present study, and their help is all the more appreciated.

The people of a Methodist church in Georgia were very gracious to the writer and his wife during a summer pastoral experience in 1958. The warm friendship of these people is now a cherished possession. We look forward to the day when the good people of this and other churches will be free of the artificial racial barriers which today inhibit their experiencing the full riches of Christian fellowship. Our appreciation for the opportunity of serving as a minister in the Deep South goes out also to the pastor of this church for inviting us to serve there during his own absence.

My doctoral studies advisors, Dean Walter G. Muelder and Associate Professor Paul K. Deats, Jr., have been a constant source of trustworthy guidance and support throughout the Ph.D. program of study and in the preparation of the dissertation which has culminated it. The intellectual leadership and friendship of these men have imposed a debt which is gratefully acknowledged even though it can never adequately be repaid.

Permission to quote from the sources indicated is acknowledged with appreciation: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company: Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*. Harper and Brothers, Publishers: Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*; and George Eaton Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination*. The Macmillan Company: Robert M. MacIver, *The More Perfect Union: A Program for the Control of Intergroup Discrimination in the United States*. The Board of Publication of The Methodist Church: *Doctrines and Discipline of The Methodist Church*. Public Affairs Press: Ernest Q. Campbell and Thomas F. Pettigrew, *Christians in Racial Crisis: A Study of the Little Rock Ministry*. Yale University Press: Dwight W. Culver, *Negro Segregation in The Methodist Church*.

It goes without saying that none of the foregoing are to be held responsible for any imperfections or errors in this study.

Finally, I wish to record my gratitude to my parents, the Rev. and Mrs. Donald F. Wogaman, and to my wife Carolyn, without whose constant encouragement none of this would have been possible.

J. PHILIP WOGAMAN

Boston, Massachusetts
February 29, 1960

Contents

	PAGE
FOREWORD	iii
PREFACE	iv
I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	1
1. Background of Segregation	1
i. Negroes in the Church Prior to Unification	1
ii. Creation of the Central Jurisdiction	1
iii. Other Patterns of Segregation	2
2. Progress Toward Desegregation: 1939-1952	2
3. The 1954 Supreme Court Decision and Developments Outside the Church	4
4. The Challenge of the 1956 General Conference to the Church	4
i. The Episcopal Address	4
ii. Resolution on Race Relations	5
iii. Constitutional Changes and Legislation	5
iv. Study Commission Appointed	6
5. Subsequent Developments in The Methodist Church	7
i. Transfers Out of the Central Jurisdiction	7
ii. Activities and Recommendations of the Study Commission	7
iii. Leadership by the General Board of Social and Economic Relations	8
iv. Active Resistance to Desegregation	9
v. Local Church and Institutional Desegregation	10
6. Summary	10
II. THE GOAL AND ETHICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS OF STRATEGY	11
1. The Goal of a Racially Inclusive Methodist Church	11
i. The Designation of Goals	11
ii. The Goal Commitment	12
iii. Sources of Support for the Goal	13
(1) Support by Methodist Opinion	13
(2) Support by Negro Protest Sentiment	13
(3) Biblical Sources of Support	14
(4) Ecumenical Sources of Support	15
(5) Concurrence with the "American Creed"	16
iv. General Significance of the Goal	16
2. Ethical Presuppositions of Strategy	17
3. Conclusions	19
III. RELEVANT CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES	19
1. Assumptions of the Chapter	19
2. Relevant General Concepts	19
i. The Concept of Reference Groups	19
ii. Social Control and Conformity	21
iii. Dominant and Minority Groups	21

	PAGE
3. Factors Supporting Racial Segregation	21
i. Prejudice and Personality Needs	22
ii. Competition for Scarce Values and Social Conflict	23
iii. Cultural Factors Supporting Segregation	24
iv. Minority Group Attitudes	25
v. Rational Factors and the Theory of the "Vicious Circle"	26
4. Principles of Strategy for Desegregation	27
i. Cumulative Causation	27
ii. Dealing with Pathological Prejudice	28
iii. Strategies of Education for Desegregation	28
(1) General Educational Principles	28
(2) The Exposure of Error and Moral Appeal	29
(3) Propaganda and Mass Appeal	30
(4) Contact as an Educational Strategy	31
iv. Variable Factors in Active Intervention	31
(1) Access to Appropriate Power and Authority	31
(2) The Manner of Approach	32
(3) The Role of the Change Agent	32
(4) Other Situational Variables	33
(5) Effective Consolidation	33
v. Minority Group Strategy	33
(1) Minority Protest	33
(2) Minority "Self-Improvement"	34
5. Emerging Perspectives on Strategy	34
IV. A STRATEGY FOR THE MINISTRY AND THE LOCAL CHURCH LEVEL	35
1. The Strategic Role and Resources of the Minister	35
2. Development of a Strategic Program	35
i. The Role Validation of the Minister	35
ii. The Phase of Preparation for Desegregation	37
(1) Preaching	37
(2) Educational Leadership in the Church	38
(3) Educational Activities with "Transfer Value"	38
(4) The Preparation of a Climate of Acceptance	39
iii. The Phase of Analysis	39
iv. The Phase of Active Intervention	41
v. The Phase of Consolidation	42
3. Lay Initiative	42
4. Mergers of Local Churches	43
5. Summary	44
V. A STRATEGY FOR THE EPISCOPACY AND THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE LEVEL	45
1. The Strategic Role of the Bishop	45
2. Episcopal Support of Ministers	46
i. Direct Support of Courageous Ministers	46
ii. Moral Leadership and Influence Upon Ministers	46

Contents CONTINUED

	PAGE
3. Episcopal Leadership and Witness in the Area	47
4. Supportive Role of the Annual Conference and Strategic Cooperation by Ministers	47
5. Educational Activities of the Annual Conference	48
i. Conference Resolutions	48
ii. Special Interracial Activities and Contacts	49
iii. Programming by Conference Organizations	49
iv. The Board of Social and Economic Relations	50
6. Transfers and Mergers on the Annual Conference Level	50
i. Strategic Importance of the Desegregated Annual Conference	50
ii. Problems to be Faced	50
iii. Lines of Action	51
7. Summary	52
 VI. A STRATEGY FOR THE GENERAL CONFERENCE AND THE NATIONAL LEVEL	 53
1. Strategic Legislation by the General Conference	53
i. The Planned Abolition of the Central Jurisdiction	54
(1) Abolition of the Central Jurisdiction as a Strategic Goal	54
(2) Legislative Procedures	57
(3) Direct Abolition or the Voluntary Approach?	57
ii. Legislation to Eliminate Barriers to Desegregation	59
(1) Legislation on the Jurisdictional Structure	59
(2) The Election and Assignment of Bishops	59
iii. General Conference Resolutions	60
iv. Leadership Possibilities with Quadrennial Emphasis Programs	60
v. Legislative Initiative in Effecting General Conference Action	61
2. Contribution of Administrative Agencies to Desegregation	62
i. General Strategies for Administrative Agencies	62
ii. Unique Potential Contributions by Selected Agencies	63
3. Contribution of Publications to Desegregation	64
i. General Church Periodicals	64
ii. Church School Literature	65
4. Contribution of Special National Organizations to Desegregation	65
i. The National Conference of Methodist Youth	66
ii. Woman's Division of Christian Service	66
5. The Board of Social and Economic Relations	67
6. Summary	68
 VII. CONCLUSIONS	 69
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 71

Chapter One

Historical Background

1. BACKGROUND OF SEGREGATION

A clear understanding of the basic facts regarding the historical background of racial segregation in The Methodist Church is essential to the purposes of this study and will be pursued in this chapter.

i. Negroes in the Church Prior to Unification

Segregation was generally characteristic of Negro-white relationships in both the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South prior to their unification in 1939 (along with the considerably smaller Methodist Protestant Church) into what is now The Methodist Church.

In the northern Methodist Episcopal Church there were at Unification nineteen separate Negro annual conferences which had gradually evolved with the extension of work among the Negro population following the Civil War. Although, in the general mood of equalitarianism engendered by the Reconstruction era, an attempt had been made to "abolish the color line" in its expanding work in the South, the desire of the Methodist Episcopal Church to retain a southern white membership resulted in an increasingly racial definition of conferences. By 1876 this was an authorized policy, and by 1890 it was nearly an accomplished fact. At the time of Unification in 1939, there were the nineteen all-Negro annual conferences with about 315,000 members, most of whom lived in the South.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which had some 207,766 Negro members immediately prior to the Civil War, lost heavily during the war years, emerging in 1866 with only 78,742 persons in its Negro membership. The southern church faced many difficulties in its work with Negroes. According to one church historian,

slavery having been abolished, the federal Constitution having been amended, giving the negroes [sic] all civil rights, it was impossible to carry on the work among them according to the old method, when the gallery or a portion of the body of the house was reserved for negroes, and when special missions were established for those who were on plantations and not allowed to attend church beyond their bounds.¹

Further, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, The African Methodist Episcopal, Zion Church, and the northern Methodist Episcopal Church each were able to offer the freed slaves a religious affiliation unconnected with the former slave-holding southern white people. In 1866 the Methodist Episcopal Church, South authorized the establishment of a separate church for its Negro membership, and in 1870, as a result of this action, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church was formed.² The ties between the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and the C.M.E. Church remained close through the years, with the latter represented each year in the benevolence budget of the former, and with a considerable amount of more informal support flowing from the white to the Negro church. Thus, as Culver notes, segregation obtaining in the Church, South "was largely a segregation outside the church."³ In 1939 the C.M.E. Church is reported to have had some 374,440 members and 4,248 local churches.⁴

ii. Creation of the Central Jurisdiction

In the Plan of Union which brought together the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Methodist Protestant Church in 1939, it was a relatively uncomplicated matter to reaffirm the relationship existing between the southern white Methodists and the separate Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. This was done with the recommendation "that financial support of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church be continued by those jurisdictional divisions with which said church is historically related, and to such an extent as those jurisdictions may deem wise," a provision which has appeared with each subsequent edition of the official *Doctrines and Discipline of The Methodist Church*.⁵

A more difficult problem, in the eyes of the Church, South, was presented by the nineteen Negro conferences then existing in the northern church. According to Moore, the southern Commissioners on the Commission on Unification early advocated the pro-

² The correct title of this denomination is now the "Christian Methodist Episcopal Church."

³ Dwight W. Culver, *Negro Segregation in The Methodist Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵ The Methodist Church, *Doctrines and Discipline of The Methodist Church*, 1956 (New York and Nashville: The Methodist Publishing House, 1957), par. 46, p. 27. This publication is hereafter cited as *Discipline*, with the appropriate year added.

¹ James M. Buckley, *A History of Methodism in the United States*, Vol. II (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897), p. 311.

motion of a [separate] united Negro Methodist Church for the United States.⁶ Presumably this would have involved the nineteen Negro conferences, the C.M.E. Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the African Methodist Episcopal, Zion Church. This proposal was acceptable neither to the Negroes themselves nor to their white brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church.⁷ The disposition finally made of the nineteen Negro conferences was that they should be formed into a separate Jurisdiction in the newly devised Jurisdictional Conference structure of the Plan of Union. According to this plan, Methodism in the continental United States was divided into six Jurisdictions. Five of these, the Northeastern, Southeastern, North Central, South Central, and Western Jurisdictions, were to be constituted geographically. The Central Jurisdiction, the sixth, was to be constituted by the nineteen Negro conferences previously existing in the northern church plus the Negro Mission Conferences and other Negro Missions in the United States. The Central Jurisdiction thus implemented a policy of racial segregation in The Methodist Church.

The Central Jurisdiction was not, however, accorded inferior status as an organization. Provisions guaranteed for the Negro membership equal participation in the denomination-wide General Conference, General Boards, Council of Bishops, etc., and reserved to the Negro membership the right to elect its own leadership and establish many of its own policies and procedures. But, at the same time and by the same token, Negroes in The Methodist Church were thus officially dealt with on the basis of race and were segregated at every connexional level of the church's life below that of the denomination itself.⁸ These provisions of the Plan of Union became Constitutional realities in The Methodist Church with Unification in 1939.

It would be incorrect, however, for two reasons to assert that the existence of the Central Jurisdiction ever required complete segregation in The Methodist Church. In the first place, a number of the states have never been included in the Central Jurisdiction since they were not included in the boundaries of the original nineteen Negro conferences. This meant that expanding Negro churches in New England and in a number of the western states were included in the Northeastern and Western Jurisdiction conferences from the start.

In the second place, the Constitution of The Methodist Church has never specified that any person may

be denied membership in any local church fellowship because of his race. Constitutionally, the Central Jurisdiction is defined by its Negro churches and conferences, not by any provision requiring all Negro Methodists to belong to it.

iii. Other Patterns of Segregation

While the Central Jurisdiction is the most important and most obvious of the patterns of institutionalized racial segregation in the church, other forms of segregation have been present since Unification.

Basing his figures on the response of 71.5 per cent of the district superintendents of The Methodist Church to an inquiry mailed them in 1946, Culver was able to report that only about one hundred of the more than 20,000 "white" Methodist pastoral charges were integrated with even one Negro member. The average number of Negro members and attenders of these churches was estimated at 640—only .18 per cent of the Negro members of all Methodist churches in the country. With the exception of this token amount of racial desegregation in local Methodist churches, and with the exception of a few white Methodists who attend some of the predominantly Negro churches, Culver thus found Methodism to maintain an unbroken front of segregation on the level of the local church.⁹ This, despite the previously noted fact that the denomination has never required segregation in the local church.

Surveying other institutions related to The Methodist Church, Culver discovered that, with the exception of the highly integrated non-southern theological schools, the general pattern in institutions of higher learning is that southern institutions are segregated, while in most non-southern institutions there is small, token, or no integration, and occasional discrimination in such matters as dormitory housing is practiced by some of the integrated institutions.¹⁰

The general picture with respect to the policies and practices of Methodist hospitals and homes was found by Culver to be "sufficiently one of discrimination and segregation to warrant an increased attention on the part of those who would eliminate segregation in The Methodist Church."¹¹

2. PROGRESS TOWARD DESEGREGATION: 1939-1952

There probably has never been a time when a considerable number of Methodists has not sought to eliminate racial barriers within the church. The issue of segregation loomed large in the thinking of many who opposed Unification, and the acceptance of the Central Jurisdiction as a segregating structure in The Methodist Church has always been far from unanimous.

⁹ Culver, pp. 143-151.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 129-133.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁶ John M. Moore, *The Long Road to Methodist Union* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943), p. 232.

⁷ See the excellent discussion of "The Negro Issue in Methodist Unification," in Culver, pp. 60-78. Culver holds that the "status of the Negro" was the most important problem to be dealt with by the Joint Commission on Unification. He quotes, among other things, Bishop Earl Cranston's comment that "it was thought that if we could come to an agreement as to the status of the Negro the other matters will adjust themselves to correspond to that understanding." (P. 61.)

⁸ The word "connexional" in Methodist polity denotes "the general organization or functioning of The Methodist Church other than on a local-church basis." *Discipline*, 1956, p. 737.

By 1944 efforts were being made to expand work with Negroes in white conferences. In the General Conference of that year the New York City Society of The Methodist Church sought and was granted an enabling act permitting the Central Jurisdiction to change its boundaries so as to allow expansion of Negro work in white New York conferences. When a later decision by the church's Judicial Council overruled the action on the ground that the enabling act was insufficient to effect a grant of power to change jurisdictional boundaries, the two Jurisdictions affected complied with existing constitutional requirements to secure such a change before referring the proposed change to the 1948 General Conference for ratification. This was done, this time with the approval of the Judicial Council. But this decision involved only new work with Negroes by the white conferences in New York, to the exclusion of other white annual conferences. Similar permission was sought from the 1952 General Conference by three other annual conferences which desired to effect the transfer of twelve already established Negro churches into white conferences. The 1952 General Conference, treating these requests as boundary problems, spelled out the procedure which must be taken to effect such transfers. Approval for the transfer of any local church from the Central Jurisdiction to one of the white conferences had to be gained from the membership and Quarterly Conference of the local church, from both annual conferences affected, from a majority of the annual conferences of each Jurisdiction involved, from the Jurisdictional Conferences of each Jurisdiction involved, and from the General Conference in the form of an enabling act. These various steps could be secured in any order. The only new feature of this legislation was that it made clear that the various stages of approval of transfers could be made in any order.

That these General Conference actions were not isolated events, but rather a part of a general movement within the Church toward racial desegregation, is evidenced by other activities. Culver points out that "each quadrennium since unification in 1939 the General Conference has received an increasing number of memorials, or petitions for legislative action, from individuals, churches, or conferences within the denomination on the subject of Negro segregation."¹² The Episcopal Addresses of 1948 and particularly of 1952 are especially indicative of the increasing wave of integrationist sentiment in The Methodist Church. The Episcopal Address of 1948, delivered by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the New York Area, condemned segregation, lynching, and the denial of civil liberties and stressed the need to remove "the injustices suffered in North and South alike by the American Negro to whom the Communist is whispering so in-

sistently."¹³ The 1952 Episcopal Address, delivered by Bishop Paul B. Kern, of the Nashville Area, asserted that

to discriminate against a person solely upon the basis of his race is both unfair and unchristian. Every child of God is entitled to that place in society which he has won by his industry, his integrity, and his character. To deny him that position because of the accident of his birth is neither honest democracy nor good religion.¹⁴

Noting the many problems faced by the Central Jurisdiction, including the fact that its rate of growth since Unification had been only four and two-thirds per cent as compared with nine and four-tenths per cent for the rest of the church, Bishop Kern summarized the four solutions to the problem of the Central Jurisdiction which he believed to have support within the church.

(a) Some would stabilize the situation upon the basis of the present pattern, urging an enlarged effort to increase the effectiveness of the Central Jurisdiction and deepening our mutual services upon the local and community level. (b) Others would do away with the Central Jurisdiction, leaving five geographical Jurisdictions inclusive of all churches within the United States. (c) It has been advocated in some sections that the best answer is to do away with all Jurisdictions and abandon the Jurisdictional system. To this suggestion there would undoubtedly be strong objections. This system seemed to be the key to Unification in 1939, and some would contend that we are not far enough from that date to force this constitutional issue upon our people. (d) A final suggestion has been brought forward. The General Conference can by majority action allow any existing Jurisdiction to change by vote its boundaries and, upon concurrence of the Negro Annual Conferences within that Jurisdictional area, to merge all the Annual Conferences within that territory into one Jurisdiction. This elastic procedure recognizes the basic principle of democracy and grants the right of self-determination to each Jurisdiction.¹⁵

The Bishop's own acceptance of the fourth of these solutions seems implied by his placing it last and by his final comment on it. At any rate, the principle of "permissive legislation" suggested by this fourth alternative was to have important effect upon enactments by the 1952 and 1956 General Conferences, and Bishop Kern's Episcopal Address was to be quoted often in support of this approach.

¹³ The Methodist Church, *Journal of the 1948 General Conference of The Methodist Church* (Nashville, etc.: The Methodist Publishing House, 1948), p. 180. The Episcopal Address "is a review of the life and thought of the Church and its responsibility in contemporaneous life . . . written by a Bishop whom his colleagues choose by ballot." The Methodist Church, *Journal of the 1956 General Conference of The Methodist Church* (Nashville, etc.: The Methodist Publishing House, 1956), p. 186.

¹⁴ The Methodist Church, *Journal of the 1952 General Conference of The Methodist Church* (Nashville, etc.: The Methodist Publishing House, 1952), p. 167.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

3. THE 1954 SUPREME COURT DECISION AND DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE THE CHURCH

The period from Unification in 1939 to 1952 which was marked, as the preceding section has suggested, by a growing sentiment for racial desegregation in the church was also a period of interracial progress for the nation as a whole. During this period, progress was made in the diminishing number of lynchings, increased equalization of job opportunity for Negroes, increasing voting rights, desegregation in the armed forces, and so forth. In such states as Arizona, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, New Jersey, and New Mexico many previously segregated public schools were desegregated, often as a result of legislation on the state level.¹⁶ A series of decisions by the United States Supreme Court required a number of state universities to admit Negroes to graduate study where equal educational opportunities had not been provided on a segregated basis.¹⁷

The desegregation movement in American society gained dramatic new focus and impetus in 1954 with the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision, announced on May 17 of that year. In that historic and unanimous decision, the Court held that racial segregation in public schools constitutes a denial of equal rights before the law, as guaranteed by the Fifteenth Amendment, and is therefore unconstitutional. In its implementing order a year later, the Court required that all segregated school districts in the nation must begin to comply in good faith with the decision, "with all deliberate speed." Recognizing the wide variety of problems in different localities, the Court left jurisdiction with the Federal district courts which were to serve as a check on whether compliance was reasonably prompt and effective.

The decision reached by the Supreme Court focused the attention of the entire nation on its problems in race relations.¹⁸ In the border states, and particularly in cities such as Washington, D. C., St. Louis, Missouri, and Louisville, Kentucky, plans for the desegregation of the public schools were adopted and followed without serious obstruction. Further south a wave of protest began to form into organized

resistance.¹⁹ Such formerly peaceful communities as Sturgis, Kentucky, Clinton, Tennessee, and Little Rock, Arkansas, became interracial battlegrounds with the attention of the whole world focused upon them. While at this writing the deep South was still presenting a reasonably solid front of resistance, legal and otherwise, considerable progress had been made toward compliance with the Supreme Court decision in many states.²⁰

The most spectacular struggles and evidences of progress have been on the educational front, but striking progress has been made since 1954 in a variety of other areas as well.²¹ Often, interestingly enough, lesser concessions, such as the equalization of facilities and opportunities and the granting of more equality in legal rights, have been extended by communities of the South as a way of avoiding the more painful step of public school desegregation.

4. THE CHALLENGE OF THE 1956 GENERAL CONFERENCE TO THE CHURCH

In the face of the growing dissatisfaction with racial segregation and the Central Jurisdiction arrangement within the church and the general upheaval following in the wake of the Supreme Court decision of 1954, it is not surprising that delegates arrived at the 1956 General Conference expecting segregation in The Methodist Church and in American society generally to be one of the most important problems on the agenda.

i. The Episcopal Address

The Episcopal Address to the 1956 General Conference, delivered by Bishop Fred Pierce Corson, of the Philadelphia Area, contained several references to the race problem. Quoting affirmatively from the Episcopal Address and the Resolution of the 1952 General Conference, Bishop Corson went on to note that "the desire for better race relations is prevalent. The principle is no longer debatable. . . ." ²² Paying tribute to the "notable advances" which had been

¹⁶ See Robin M. Williams and Margaret W. Ryan (eds.), *Schools in Transition: Community Experiences in Desegregation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954).

¹⁷ See Robert A. Leflar, "Law of the Land," *With All Deliberate Speed: Segregation-Desegregation in Southern Schools*, ed. Don Shoemaker (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 2.

¹⁸ The best source of reliable information on the response to the Supreme Court decision and desegregation efforts and resistances in the South is probably the Southern Education Reporting Service. The S.E.R.S. is a unique reporting venture, established in 1954 by six southern editors and six southern educators for the purpose of providing accurate and unbiased information on what was predicted to be a period of intense turmoil and controversy in southern education. Its monthly publication is *Southern School News*. The symposium, Don Shoemaker (ed.), *With All Deliberate Speed*, written primarily by staff members of the S.E.R.S., summarizes the three years following the Supreme Court decision of 1954.

¹⁹ See James Wilfrid Vander Zanden, "The Southern White Resistance Movement to Integration" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1957), and John Bartlow Martin, *The Deep South Says Never* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1957), for informative accounts of the Ku Klux Klan revival, the "White Citizens' Councils," and related resistance movements. Several of the articles in Shoemaker (ed.) deal with other aspects of this resistance, including the political dimension.

²⁰ As of October, 1959, only the five states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina had no desegregated public school classrooms. Florida and Virginia had just begun. *Southern School News*, 6 (October, 1959), 1. See also Southern Regional Council, *A Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60* (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1959).

²¹ See, e.g., David Loth and Harold Fleming, *Integration, North and South* (New York: The Fund for the Republic, 1956), and Harriet Harmon Dexter, *What's Right With Race Relations* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), for documentation of hundreds of specific instances of progress in race relations. See also *The New South*, an excellent magazine published by the Southern Regional Council.

²² *Daily Christian Advocate*, 5 (April 26, 1956), 55.

“made under our present organizational structure,” Bishop Corson called attention to the fact that “new issues have arisen and new duties confront the Church.” “The Council of Bishops,” he continued,

therefore, recommends that a commission large enough to be truly representative of all our people be constituted for the purpose of studying the jurisdictional structure of the Church, its philosophy and its effectiveness, and that it report its findings with recommendations to the 1960 session of the General Conference. Through this medium we believe that a way can be charted to advance the Church steadily toward the fulfillment of the Christian imperative for racial relations.²³

ii. Resolution on Race Relations

The General Conference adopted a resolution entitled “The Methodist Church and Race,” representing the most complete statement, from the integrationist point of view, yet to be enunciated by The Methodist Church.²⁴ Included in the resolution was the recommendation “that discrimination or segregation by any method or practice, whether by conference structure or otherwise, in The Methodist Church be abolished with reasonable speed.” This Resolution will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three, below.

iii. Constitutional Changes and Legislation

The real discussion of the General Conference centered around proposed constitutional changes. Debate on the floor indicated clearly that some had come to the Conference hoping for the complete abolition of the Central Jurisdiction, while others, mainly from the South, had hoped to forestall any constitutional action whatsoever.

“Amendment IX,” which was adopted by the Conference and appropriately ratified during the following year, greatly facilitated the procedures in the transfer of churches and Annual Conferences out of the Central Jurisdiction and provided machinery for the actual abolition of that Jurisdiction. The Constitution was amended to read that a local church could be transferred “from one Annual Conference to another in which it is geographically located upon approval by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting” in the Quarterly Conference and Church Conference of the local church itself and in each of the two Annual Conferences involved.²⁵ This new procedure eliminates the steps, previously required, of securing approval by the Jurisdictions involved and by the General Conference. Amendment IX also makes provision for the transfer of Annual Conferences from one Jurisdiction to another upon approval by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting in the Annual Conference desiring to transfer, by a two-

thirds majority of those present and voting in the Annual Conferences of the Jurisdiction from which transfer is desired, and by a similar majority in the Jurisdiction to which transfer is to be made. The amendment disposed of the problem of Central Jurisdiction bishops being left without a sufficient number of churches and conferences for an adequate episcopal area by providing that “whenever twenty-five per cent of the local-church membership of the Central Jurisdiction have been transferred by this process to another jurisdiction or jurisdictions, the bishop of the area from which the largest number have been transferred shall be transferred to the jurisdiction which has received the largest number by such transfer. . . .”²⁶ Proportionate reduction in the “representation of the Central Jurisdiction on the boards, agencies, and episcopacy of the church” was also to be effected when transfers had reached this twenty-five per cent level.²⁷ Provision was also made for the complete abolition of the Central Jurisdiction

when all of the Annual Conferences now comprising it have been transferred to other jurisdictions in accordance with the voluntary procedure of Article V of this section. Each remaining bishop of the Central Jurisdiction shall thereupon be transferred to the jurisdiction to which the majority of the membership of his area has been transferred, and the Central Jurisdiction shall then be dissolved.²⁸

The “permissive” character of this new plan is readily apparent. It was also made clear in debate on the proposed Amendment IX on the floor of the General Conference. Representing a subcommittee of the Committee on Conferences, which presented the plan, Leonard D. Slutz (Ohio Annual Conference) noted that

what we have endeavored to do by this proposed amendment is to make possible what every member of our Committee earnestly desired. That is to make possible the voluntary integration of our Church on all levels. . . . Now we have had two structural stages where some of our critics have claimed that we were segregated. Relatively unimportant as they are, they have become symbols. This proposal makes possible the transfer of any local church, when it desires to transfer, to another Annual Conference *that is willing to accept it*. Nobody is compelled or forced to transfer, but he has the right to do so, and that is all that we as a General Conference enacting the laws of the Church can possibly do. . . .²⁹

Slutz went on to note that “we have debated this at great length, we have reached a unanimous report recommending the adoption of this resolution.”

Speaking for the proposed amendment, Dr. Nolan Harmon (Virginia Annual Conference) asserted that “wherever a group of congregations or conferences

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Discipline*, 1956, par. 2026, pp. 723-724.

²⁵ *Discipline*, 1956, p. 19.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²⁹ *Daily Christian Advocate*, 5 (May 3, 1956), 359. Emphasis supplied.

wish to be united, no one can gainsay that in any degree; and wherever congregations do not wish to be united—or conferences—no hope can come from any pressure to make that come about. . . .”³⁰ Also speaking for the amendment, Dr. Lance Webb (Ohio Annual Conference) said that

these amendments take out the rigid structure and substitute a permissive structure, so that there will neither be forced segregation, as there would be if we were right now to abolish the Central Jurisdiction.

Neither forced integration nor forced segregation are in harmony with the spirit of Christ, which does not depend upon force but on love.³¹

Some voices were raised against the amendment on the ground that this voluntary approach would not be adequate. Representative of these was Miss Thelma Stevens (Woman’s Division of Christian Service) who, noting that this amendment might only accomplish the weakening of the Central Jurisdiction, asserted that it was “another delaying tactic to keep this General Conference from making its clear-cut statement of unequivocal determination to move away from segregation in every form.” She went on to express the hope that the General Conference “will not adopt this amendment but that it will be properly directed and instructed to take steps immediately to do away with any form of segregation in The Methodist Church.”³²

Other delegates indicated that they regarded the measure as incomplete but were willing to support it as a step forward. Among these, Thurman L. Dodson (Washington Annual Conference, Central Jurisdiction) said that

we appreciate all of the shortcomings of this resolution as far as it goes. We are not being fooled at all by it. We realize that this amendment does not abolish segregation in The Methodist Church. But it does move in a direction toward which this great church of ours ought to move.³³

Dr. Georgia Harkness (Troy Annual Conference) sought clarification as to whether the amendment would “become permanent and for all time our mode of eliminating the Central Jurisdiction.” Leonard Slutz, in response, pointed out that “nothing this General Conference can do can be permanent and forever. Every amendment to our Constitution or law can be re-examined at the next session of the General Conference.”³⁴

Still another possible dimension of thinking with some delegates was suggested by Wiley C. Newman (Memphis Annual Conference), who protested that this was not a delaying action by southern delegates. Distinguishing between “integration” and “brother-

hood,” he said that “if we are seeking brotherhood, we who live and work and run the risk in the South believe with all our hearts that this proposed amendment to our Constitution will clear the way for us to work for it. . . .” He added that the South is not “opposed to giving our Negro brethren brotherhood, dignity, and recognition.”³⁵ In his mind, at least, these “gifts” were apparently to remain within the framework of segregation!

iv. Study Commission Appointed

In response to the recommendation by the Council of Bishops through the Episcopal Address, the General Conference also set up a “Commission to Study and Recommend Action Concerning the Jurisdictional System.” This Commission, to be convened within six months following the adjournment of the General Conference, was to be composed of seventy persons, of whom one minister and one lay person were to represent each 500,000 church members (or major fraction thereof) from each jurisdiction, with a minimum of three ministers and three laymen from each jurisdiction, two bishops from each jurisdiction, and two additional laymen from each jurisdiction.³⁶ The specific duties of the Commission were set out as follows:

- a) To make a thorough study of our jurisdictional system, with special reference to its philosophy, its effectiveness, its weaknesses, and its relationship to the future of The Methodist Church.
- b) To carry on studies and conduct hearings in all the jurisdictions on racial segregation in The Methodist Church and all other problems related to the jurisdictional system.
- c) To develop courses of action directed toward greater interracial brotherhood and the spirit of Christian love.
- d) In the performance of its duties, to draw on the resources of other agencies of The Methodist Church to assist in such research.
- e) To distribute to the local churches such facts and information during the quadrennium as may be deemed helpful to the work of this commission and of value to the church.
- f) To present its findings and recommendations to the General Conference of 1960 in a report which shall be printed and distributed to the delegates thereof at least three months prior to the convening of the conference.³⁷

The hope of the General Conference that this Commission might be able to propose in 1960 a more detailed and effective way of handling the Central Jurisdiction problem and segregation in the church seemed implied in the last duty.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, p. 362.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Discipline, 1956*, par. 2013, p. 687.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 687-688.

5. SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE METHODIST CHURCH

i. Transfers out of the Central Jurisdiction

As of July, 1959, only six of the local churches of the Central Jurisdiction had taken advantage of the enabling legislation of the General Conference and the invitations of conferences in non-southern Jurisdictions to transfer, and none of the Central Jurisdiction annual conferences had done so.³⁸ Some thirty-eight other Central Jurisdiction churches were involved in various other stages of discussion and transfer, but of these, thirty-six had reached a state of "suspended animation."³⁹

A joint statement by the College of Bishops of the Central Jurisdiction was credited in some quarters with having discouraged Central Jurisdiction churches and conferences from accepting invitations to transfer into the other jurisdictions.⁴⁰ This statement, adopted in November of 1957, while urging the "eventual abolition of the Central Jurisdiction" and approving the "'open door policy' by which the Conference of the Central Jurisdiction will be merged into the other five Jurisdictions (geographical) when and as both groups are ready for such action," nevertheless recommended

that the churches and Conferences of the Central Jurisdiction be cautioned about too hasty action in breaking away from the Central Jurisdiction, that churches and Conferences be encouraged to remain in the Central Jurisdiction until it is clear that the majority of our churches will be welcomed into other Jurisdictions on the basis of equality and mutual respect; on the theory that as long as we have a Jurisdiction it should be maintained with a reasonable degree of strength.⁴¹

The attitude of caution reflected in this statement helps to explain the slowness with which the Central Jurisdiction churches have approached transfer. This attitude is also apparent in the expressions of Negro leaders, as voiced in the Interracial Leadership Conferences sponsored by the General Board of Social and Economic Relations of The Methodist Church, and in occasional writings in the *Central Christian Advocate*, the official publication of the Central Jurisdiction.⁴²

This attitude of caution will be discussed further in Chapter Six, below.

ii. Activities and Recommendations of the Study Commission

The Commission for Study and Action on the Jurisdictional System met soon after the General Conference of 1956. After organizing itself, the Commission made provision for the various forms of study and research suggested by its mandate, including historical surveys, study of annual and jurisdictional conference actions on desegregation, study of trends within the Central Jurisdiction, study of the salary and pension differentials as among the various annual conferences, and study of churches transferring under Amendment IX. Reports resulting from this research were utilized in the Commission's deliberations and will be published as appendices to its own final report.

In the fall of 1957 the Commission, divided into six panels, conducted hearings in four cities in each of the six jurisdictions, at which all Methodists were invited to testify regarding their attitudes on the jurisdictional system and the Central Jurisdiction. With respect to segregation and the Central Jurisdiction issue, these panel hearings revealed generally that there is strong opposition to segregation and the continuation of the Central Jurisdiction within the Western, Northeastern, North Central, and Central Jurisdictions and that there is strong support for segregation in the Southeastern and South Central Jurisdictions.⁴³ Significantly the feeling of Central Jurisdiction members that the Central Jurisdiction should be abolished and segregation eliminated was virtually unanimous. Of further interest, the chairman of the panel assigned to the Southeastern Jurisdiction reported that a number of people who feared reprisal if their views were known gave him statements opposing segregation, with the understanding that their names be withheld.⁴⁴

By late 1959 the Commission had completed its work of preparing a report for the General Conference of 1960. Noting that "the General Conference of 1956 places the Central Jurisdiction in the line of ultimate extinction," the Commission recommended, nevertheless, "that the General Conference of 1960 undertake no basic change in the Central Jurisdiction."⁴⁵ Instead, the Commission recommended a variety of procedures designed to facilitate and encourage the utilization of Amendment IX. In support of this approach, the Report asserts that

³⁸ Letter from the office of Charles F. Golden, Section of Home Missions, Division of National Missions, the Board of Missions of The Methodist Church, Philadelphia, Pa., July 16, 1959. Two reports on a study of transfers for the Commission to Study the Jurisdictional System were enclosed.

³⁹ This is the judgment of the *Report to the 1960 General Conference of The Methodist Church by the Commission for Study and Action on the Jurisdictional System* (n.p.: By the Commission, November, 1959). This document will be referred to hereafter as *Study Commission Report*.

⁴⁰ One high ranking denominational official, who is close to this situation, believes that the Central Jurisdiction bishops now have a concrete policy of opposition to transfers. He cites one instance in which, on the basis of a rather dubious technical ruling, a Central Jurisdiction bishop prevented consideration of the transfer of a local church out of its Central Jurisdiction annual conference. Interview, place and date withheld. On the basis of this and other interviews, the present writer believes that a firm no-transfer policy does exist.

⁴¹ J. W. E. Bowen and others, *Statement of the College of Bishops of the Central Jurisdiction* (1957).

⁴² See, e.g., David M. Pleasants, "Ought the Central Jurisdiction Be Abolished?" *Central Christian Advocate*, 134 (July 1, 1959), 7.

⁴³ See the Reports of Findings of the Panels Assigned to the Central, North Central, Northeastern, South Central, Southeastern, and Western Jurisdictions, Prepared by the Chairmen of the Panels (in the files of the Commission for Study and Action on the Jurisdictional System).

⁴⁴ This fact was confirmed personally by the present writer, who talked with some of the young ministers who submitted anonymous statements to this panel chairman. A liberal leader also remarked that he had advised many of his liberal friends to boycott the hearings. Interviews, summer, 1958, Georgia.

⁴⁵ *Study Commission Report*, pp. 8, 12.

to legislate the immediate elimination of the Central Jurisdiction, would be harmful to the Church, and especially disastrous to the Negro Methodists. Many life-long members of The Methodist Church would be without full fellowship in a local church or Annual Conference. If Negro churches are accepted in white conferences, and Negro members are admitted into white churches, the Central Jurisdiction will disappear in those sections where this is accomplished. However, in large sections of our Methodist Church, Negro Methodists would be left without opportunity to be included in interracial churches and interracial conferences.⁴⁶

It was felt, further, that sufficient time had not elapsed for the full effect of the Amendment IX legislation to be registered.

With regard to the jurisdictional system, as such, the Commission recommended again that no basic changes be undertaken by the 1960 General Conference. It was proposed, however, that provision should be made for the jurisdictional conferences to be held at the same time and place as the General Conference, with the jurisdictional conference delegates all also sitting as delegates to the General Conference, and that the bishops should be consecrated at the sessions of the General Conference. It was recommended, further, that provision be made to facilitate the assignment of bishops to jurisdictions other than those by which they were originally elected. These recommendations could be evaluated with respect to their potential effect upon regional divisions within the church, and indirectly upon the issue of segregation.

The Study Commission's Report indicates frankly that it is largely the result of compromise between sectional groups within the church, and the fear of the possible disruption of the church on the race issue was explicitly mentioned. One member of the Commission reported that, among many members, there was a sense of frustration "that we have not succeeded in doing what we set out to do," and that no real solution to the Central Jurisdiction problem had been found.⁴⁷

iii. Leadership by the General Board of Social and Economic Relations

The Board of Social and Economic Relations of The Methodist Church was formed in 1952 with the responsibility of providing implementation and leadership with respect to Methodist concerns in the field of social and economic relations. Even before the 1956 General Conference this Board had begun to exert leadership in the area of race relations, and this activity has increased since that time. Among its num-

erous activities and projects in this area have been the following:⁴⁸

(1) It has publicized the official statement, "The Methodist Church and Race," and the teachings of the Bible on race in pamphlet form. It has also published a study book on race relations designed to stimulate thinking on the issue by a frank presentation of divergent points of view.⁴⁹ These publications have been distributed widely.

(2) It has provided leadership in the establishment of local church Commissions on Christian Social Relations and encouraged them to consider improvement of race relations an important part of their task. This has also been done on the annual conference level.

(3) It has helped to establish channels of communication between the annual conferences of the Central Jurisdiction and of the geographical jurisdictions serving the same territory. This has included the support of joint committees for study and leadership with regard to transfers under Amendment IX.

(4) It has sponsored some twenty "Interracial Leadership Conferences" across the country, involving participants from episcopal areas in the Central Jurisdiction and the geographical jurisdictions.⁵⁰ In preparation for these conferences the Board was instrumental in assembling a considerable amount of sociological data on the problems of the different areas in which the conferences were held, together with outstanding leadership, competent to interpret problems of race relations. Among the features of the conferences were a colloquy between the sponsoring bishops and small study groups which were assigned particular problems.

These conferences were culminated by a church-wide "Methodist Conference on Human Relations," held in Dallas, Texas, from August 31 to September 4, 1959, to which delegates came from annual conferences of every jurisdiction. This conference was jointly sponsored by ten of the general agencies of the church, under the leadership of the Board of Social and Economic Relations. It produced a "message" on race relations, which is being given wide distribution throughout the church, and other reports and materials which are scheduled for later publication.⁵¹

⁴⁸ In addition to a survey of the printed and mimeographed literature of the Board, this section is based upon an interview with its General Secretary, the Rev. A. Dudley Ward, Oct. 2, 1959, Boston, Mass.

⁴⁹ The Methodist Church, General Board of Social and Economic Relations, *The Road to Brotherhood: Views on Race Relations with Resources and Suggestions for Action* (Chicago: Board of Social and Economic Relations, 1958).

⁵⁰ See The Methodist Church, . . . *Summary of Interracial Leadership Conferences*, and The Methodist Church, General Board of Social and Economic Relations, *Ohio Methodist Interracial Conference Report, Columbus, Ohio, April 2, 3, and 4, 1959* (mimeographed, Chicago: By the Board, 1959), pp. 1-2. The reports of the individual Interracial Leadership Conferences, though these differ occasionally as to precise title, will be cited hereafter as *Interracial Conference Report*, with the appropriate city and date appended.

⁵¹ The Methodist Church, Conference on Human Relations, *The Message from Methodist Conference on Human Relations, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, August 31 to September 4, 1959* (Chicago: By the Conference Office, 1959).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

⁴⁷ Interview with Dean Walter G. Muelder, member of the Study Commission, October 13, 1959, Boston, Mass. Some of the other members of the Commission, including its Executive Director, had been interviewed prior to its final full meeting in September.

(5) According to its General Secretary, the Board has, finally, attempted to exert a considerable amount of intangible leadership in the form of personal contact and discussion directed toward improving the race relations situation in The Methodist Church.

iv. Active Resistance to Desegregation

While the movement toward desegregation continued to develop generally throughout the church after the 1956 General Conference, some organized resistance activity had already begun to emerge in the deep South. According to one observer, "the best-organized lay resistance to church integration in the South appears to be in The Methodist Church."⁵² Resistance organizations in at least the two states of Alabama and Mississippi would appear to support that generalization.

An organization in Alabama, originally called the "Association of Methodist Ministers and Laymen," was formed by early 1955, with the following program:

1. To use all rightful means to oppose any statements by Methodist publications or groups who will seek to change the present law of the church governing white and Negro members.
2. To devise a plan of informing Methodists of efforts to promote a policy of racial integration within the church.
3. To request all delegates to conferences to oppose any such movement.
4. To request Methodist leaders to present statements of church members on how the abolition of the Central Jurisdiction would affect the church and its agencies.
5. To recommend that groups be organized to confer with Negro leaders regarding problems that may arise out of the "racial tension engendered by leaders of radical groups."⁵³

A leader of the organization said that efforts would be made to have delegates sent to the 1956 General Conference who support continued church segregation.⁵⁴ The organization is reported to have urged local church official boards to pass segregationist resolutions and attempted to "black ball" liberal ministers with local pastoral relations committees.⁵⁵ In the summer of 1958 the group was described as a potent force in the two Alabama annual conferences of the Southeastern Jurisdiction.⁵⁶

In March, 1959, the Alabama organization was re-organized as the "Methodist Layman's Union," a change of title indicating the inability of the group

to attract significant ministerial backing.⁵⁷ Recently, the Layman's Union has been instrumental in securing the passage of a law by the Alabama Legislature which would permit local churches to retain property ownership upon withdrawal from their parent church organization because of segregation disputes. The bill

was planned as a counter-measure to the movement within the [sic] Methodist church to abolish the all-Negro Central Jurisdiction and absorb it into the white divisions of the church.

Alabama Methodists fear this may lead to integrated churches. The law the Layman's Union drafted would permit a church to go into a state court and claim ownership of its property if at least 65 per cent of the adult members vote to secede from the national denomination.⁵⁸

Although securing the passage of such a law by a state legislature is an impressive show of strength, it may be wondered whether the form of the bill indicates lack of assurance on the part of the Layman's Union that it could induce annual conferences themselves, rather than just local churches, to secede from a desegregated Methodist Church.

Similar organizations have been functioning off and on in recent years in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas. The "Mississippi Association of Methodist Ministers and Laymen," with a mailing list of something over 5,000, is undoubtedly the strongest of these.⁵⁹ As "a volunteer organization resolved to respect and maintain racial customs in churches, schools, conferences and jurisdictions," its announced purposes are similar to those of its Alabama counterpart.⁶⁰ Interestingly, the Mississippi Association of Methodist Ministers and Laymen has also failed to attract a large amount of ministerial backing.⁶¹ The Association, however, was able to secure passage of resolutions opposing racial desegregation at the 1959 session of the Mississippi Annual Conference of the Southeastern Jurisdiction, although the conference also passed a resolution of appreciation of Methodist church school literature, which had been under fire from the Association.⁶² The available evidence suggests the presence of sharp, though seldom visible, conflict between the active segregationists and those of more liberal or "moderate" persuasion.⁶³

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* See Thomas Reeves, "Methodist Layman's Union Victim," *The Christian Century*, 76 (Sept. 2, 1959), 995, for an account of the reprisal suffered by one young man who made a statement favoring integration at the March, 1959 meeting of the Layman's Union, illustrating the bitter character of its spirit.

⁵⁸ *Southern School News*, 5 (September, 1959), 6. The bill was reported to have passed the House by a vote of 90-1; the Senate unanimously.

⁵⁹ See Mississippi Association of Methodist Ministers and Laymen, *Information Bulletin*, No. 10 (July, 1959), 4. The present writer is on this mailing list.

⁶⁰ See *Ibid.*, No. 1 (Oct., 1958), 1-4.

⁶¹ Interview with a leading member of the MAMML, Aug. 1, 1958, Jackson, Miss. The explanation given was that ministers were waiting for the organization to prove itself before joining.

⁶² Mississippi Annual Conference, *Journal, 1959 Session, Mississippi Conference, The Methodist Church, Southeastern Jurisdiction* (Jackson: 1959), pp. 101, 109, 131.

⁶³ For example, in Mississippi one segregationist leader ranked much lower in secret balloting for General Conference delegates in 1959 than usual.

⁵² Wesley Shrader, "Segregation in the Churches," *Esquire*, 54 (May, 1958), 20.

⁵³ *Southern School News*, 1 (Jan. 6, 1955), 2.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Interview with a leading Alabama Methodist minister who is known for his support of desegregation, July 31, 1958, Alabama. A supplementary interview was held on October 26, 1959.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

v. Local Church and Institutional Desegregation

No complete study has been made of the number of inclusive churches in Methodism since that of Culver which was published in 1952. More limited studies in connection with the Interracial Leadership Conferences and with the research of the Jurisdictional Study Commission, however, suggest that considerably more such churches could be found at the present time. While Culver found only about one hundred "white" churches with at least one Negro member (see above), at least 92 Methodist churches in the Ohio and Los Angeles Areas alone are known to be interracial.⁶⁴ Varying types and degrees of local church integration have been found in all parts of the country, although the total number of such churches would probably still appear comparatively small, and the number of persons of minority groups actually involved even smaller.

A further dimension of progress, emerging in the eight years since Culver's study was made, is evidenced by the appointment of Negro ministers to serve predominantly white congregations by at least three bishops. The number of Negro ministers and ministerial students to serve predominantly white churches as assistant ministers is probably much higher.

Surveys of the extent of racial desegregation in such other Methodist institutions as schools and colleges, homes, and hospitals conducted under the Jurisdictional Study Commission suggest scattered progress, although the number of Methodist institutions which continue to be racially segregated remains sufficiently high to warrant continued concern on the part of those who believe that institutions representing the church should be "color blind" in their policies and practices. Of particular concern is the fact that two of the Methodist theological

seminaries, those connected with Emory and Duke Universities, remain segregated despite clear expressions of readiness for desegregation by students and faculties of these institutions. One other southern seminary, that connected with Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, now admits Negro students.

6. SUMMARY

In this chapter, the pattern of relationships between Negroes and white persons in The Methodist Church, and the movement toward desegregation within the church, with particular reference to the situation after 1952, were summarized and traced historically. It was found that patterns of racial segregation in The Methodist Church are fixed on the national level by the Central Jurisdiction, an administrative structure guaranteeing constitutional equality for Negro leadership on the national level but fixing at the same time a constitutional separation of Negroes and white persons on lower connectional levels of the church.

A growing movement to abolish racial segregation in every form was documented. The firm repudiation of racial segregation and the permissive legislation of the 1956 General Conference, which greatly simplifies the transfer of institutions of the Central Jurisdiction to other jurisdictions, were summarized. Events subsequent to 1956 were found to reveal strong sentiment for further progress and the development of leadership in this direction, particularly by the General Board of Social and Economic Relations. The report of the Jurisdictional Study Commission was found to suggest further problems and uncertainty within the church as to the best means of dealing with segregation and the Central Jurisdiction. It was also found that organized resistance to racial desegregation in the church has developed in the Deep South in recent years.

⁶⁴ The Methodist Church, . . . *Interracial Conference Report, Columbus, Ohio, April 2, 3, and 4, 1959*, p. 41, and letter from the Section of Home Missions, Division of National Missions, . . . July 16, 1959.



Chapter Two

The Goal and Ethical Presuppositions of Strategy

It has been noted above that the appropriateness of strategies suggested by this study will be determined in part by their consistency with the appropriate Methodist goal of racial inclusiveness and with stated ethical presuppositions. The first part of this chapter will consider the goal to which strategy should be directed; the latter part will be occupied with consideration of ethical presuppositions.

1. THE GOAL OF A RACIALLY INCLUSIVE METHODIST CHURCH

One of the risks of planned social change is that its implicit value commitments may be essentially irrelevant or inappropriate to the specific institutional complex involved. The danger is that the strategist's goals may reflect simply his own emotionally subjective values and opinions. Myrdal and others have shown, however, that this danger can be avoided where value assumptions have been "sufficiently, fully, and rationally introduced."¹ When one is involved in planning social change it is thus of greatest importance that value premises and objectives be made explicit and that they be chosen on the sole criteria of their significance, relevance, and appropriateness to the institutions and cultures involved. These criteria are accepted here.

i. The Designation of Goals

While every Methodist is committed to certain values and beliefs by virtue of his baptism and membership in his church, none of these commitments deals explicitly with the presence or absence of racial segregation in the life of the church. The goal must, therefore, be located in some way in the beliefs and attitudes of the majority of Methodists. Conceivably this could be done by the actual polling of the more than nine million members of The Methodist Church, although the use of such a procedure of determining the church's basic objectives and policy would seem patently impracticable.

The Methodist Church has, however, established procedures which provide for the official expression of value commitments and policy by a representa-

tional body. Every local pastoral charge is represented in some Annual Conference or Provisional Annual Conference by its minister and an elected lay delegate. Every Annual Conference or Provisional Annual Conference has elected representation, based on its size, in the General Conference, which meets every four years. Further, all delegates to the General Conference, lay and ministerial alike, are present by virtue of election by some Annual Conference or Provisional Conference. Hence it can be concluded that all members of The Methodist Church are legally represented in the General Conference and that every delegate to the General Conference has a constituency. It is not easily conceivable that the General Conference could permanently defy the convictions of the majority of the members of The Methodist Church. It is this General Conference which has final authority to commit the denomination: "the General Conference shall have full legislative power over all matters distinctively connectional."²

There is, thus, no question that the official self-expression of The Methodist Church, as a denomination, must come from the General Conference. It is not unusual, of course, to hear the criticism that statements and resolutions by ecclesiastical bodies do not represent the "grass roots."³ However, in view of the representative character of the General Conference, it would seem that the burden of proof should fall upon those seeking to establish that a given statement or resolution by it is not the general view of most Methodists.

There is a further sense in which the General Conference would seem more genuinely the representative voice of Methodist values and goals than any other. As a normative expression of what *ought* to be, the goals of a religious body are likely to be rooted more characteristically in metaphysical assumptions and religious beliefs than in convenience or more self-interested motivations. While there is no way to be sure that the delegates to any General Conference are superior to their constituencies in their personal commitments to religious beliefs and values, it would seem apparent that their *formulations* of these beliefs and values should be more intelligent than those to

² *Ibid.*, par. 8, p. 11.

³ It happens that at least two studies have been made of Methodist "grass roots" opinion in recent years in the area of this study's concern. These studies will be discussed below.

¹ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 1044.

be expected from the average member of the church. This might particularly be expected since half of the members of the General Conference are ministers who have studied such beliefs and values more systematically. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the General Conference is influential in its effect upon the individual members of the church in their own formulations of beliefs and institutional goals, even though this effect might be rather indirect. The General Conference could thus be said to exert effective influence upon its constituency just as the opinions of the constituency has effect upon its delegates.

In a further way the General Conference could be considered more authentically the representative voice of Methodist goals and beliefs than any other: its formulations are less likely to be swayed by local interests and prejudices. The organizing principle of Myrdal's classic analysis of American race relations is the moral conflict within most Americans between the higher and more general beliefs relating to the brotherhood and fundamental equality of all men and the self-interested valuations growing out of personal and local interests.⁴ Given this conflict, it is conceivable that delegates acting as official representatives to the church's highest governing body would be less bound by the latter plane of valuations and more faithful to the former.

A reasonable conclusion from the above discussion would be that one should turn first to the official pronouncements of the General Conference for an authoritative designation of the church's goals and beliefs.

ii. The Goal Commitment

In the course of Chapter One reference has already been made to the declared opposition of the General Conference to racial discrimination and segregation, both within the church and within society in general. Assuming this to be, at least at the present time, the authoritative position of The Methodist Church on segregation,⁵ the resolution embodying it should be given some consideration.

The resolution, entitled "The Methodist Church and Race,"⁶ begins with the religious or theological basis of the rejection of racial discrimination:

the teaching of our Lord is that all men are brothers. The Master permits no discrimination because of race, color, or national origin.

This teaching is explicitly applied to the problem of segregation in the church.

There must be no place in The Methodist Church for racial discrimination or enforced segregation. Recognizing that we have not attained this goal, yet rejoicing in the progress made, we recommend that discrimination whether by conference structure or otherwise, in The Methodist Church be abolished with reasonable speed.

The only possible source of ambiguity in this statement would be the redundancy of the term "enforced segregation." By definition, all segregation is "enforced," although it is possible that some delegates may not have thought so while others were simply desirous of adding emphasis.

The resolution finally makes the following recommendations, calling for various forms of specific implementation of the goal:

1. That the institutions of the church, local churches, colleges, universities, theological schools, publishing agencies, hospitals, and homes carefully restudy their policies and practices as they relate to race, making certain that these policies and practices are Christian.

2. That Methodists in their homes, in their work, in their churches, and in their communities actively work to eliminate discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin. That parents, teachers, and others who work with children and youth help create attitudes which make it easy to live in harmony with those of other races.

3. That Methodist churches in changing neighborhoods, rather than seeking new locations, early prepare their people to welcome into their fellowship all races as they become a part of their community.

That our pastors, upon whom rests the responsibility of receiving individuals into church membership discharge that responsibility without regard to race, color, or national origin.

4. That bishops, district superintendents, pastors, and lay leaders seek ways for the implementation of better fraternal relations between the Central Jurisdiction and other jurisdictions where they are adjacent, by closer co-operation at Annual and District Conferences, and at local-church levels.

5. That Methodists at national and international meetings of the church make provision for equality of accommodations for all races, without discrimination or segregation.

6. That the many racial and national groups which make up our Methodist world fellowship be afforded the opportunity without discrimination to enjoy full participation in all the activities of the church.

These statements could hardly be interpreted otherwise than as a strong commitment by The Methodist Church to the goal of a completely inclusive fellowship without racial segregation. The addition of specific recommendations to the resolution adds further weight to the genuineness of this expression. However, it should be noted that the declaration, not

⁴ Myrdal, p. xlvii.

⁵ It is assumed here that if those believing in segregation in the church could secure the necessary support for a General Conference resolution repudiating previous statements on race relations and declaring support for racial segregation as a new policy this would, in fact, become the authentic goal of the denomination as such. This is to distinguish the problem of consensus from the normative problem. The probable stability of the present consensus on this question will be dealt with below.

⁶ From *Doctrines and Discipline of The Methodist Church*, par. 2026, pp. 723-724, copyright 1957 by The Board of Publication of The Methodist Church, Inc. Used by permission of The Methodist Publishing House.

previously cited, that "all racial groups must be willing to admit their imperfections and seek to correct them," in the fifth paragraph of the resolution, would seem to weaken it by the implication that character or perfection is a quality which can reside in a racial group as such. Other parts of the resolution seem clearly to declare that character is, to the contrary, an individual achievement, irrespective of the racial accidents of birth. It may be of some interest to Methodists to observe whether future sessions of the General Conference will clarify what is meant by the admission and correction of imperfection by a racial group.

However, the opposition of the church to segregation seems clearly enough stated throughout the resolution to confirm the generalization that The Methodist Church stands officially committed to desegregation as a goal for its own institutional structures and for society in general.

iii. Sources of Support for the Goal

While the general goal defined by the General Conference must, for the reasons given above, be considered the most authentic expression of The Methodist Church on the subject of racial segregation, this does not establish that the goal is held unanimously by all Methodists. Indeed, as has been shown in Chapter One, there is evidence of the sharpest disagreement among Methodists on the issue. There is some point, therefore, in seeking to assess the degree to which the goal is supported by popular opinion within the church and by more normative sources, the authority of whose sanction would generally be accepted by most Methodists. Such an assessment may help to determine the stability and permanence of the goal and the values upon which it rests.

(1) *Support by Methodist Opinion.*—To the best knowledge of the present writer, there have been only two general studies of Methodist opinion on this subject in recent years. Both of these have indicated that a majority of Methodists are opposed to segregation generally and specifically to segregation in the church.

A study reported by the *Christian Advocate* in 1956 found 56.4 per cent of its sample of Methodists, which was carefully distributed as to region, desirous of removing all racial barriers within the church, and only 16.6 per cent responded that all churches should "serve either Negroes or whites exclusively."⁷ 23.8 per cent responded that there should be "some separate churches for each group and some inclusive churches." The remainder did not respond. Interestingly, even in the Southeastern Jurisdiction 25.9 per cent favored removal of all barriers, and only 37.8 per cent favored the categorical segregationist position that all churches should "serve either Negroes

or whites exclusively."⁸ Corresponding figures for the South Central Jurisdiction were 45.3 per cent (for complete desegregation in the church) and 17.3 per cent (for complete segregation). Figures for the North Central, Northeastern, and Western Jurisdictions reflected much stronger support for total desegregation. It is of further interest that favorableness to complete desegregation was correlated positively with the youthfulness of respondents. Thus, 67.3 per cent of respondents in the 18-24 years age bracket supported total desegregation, perhaps giving some index to future expectations.

A second study conducted in 1959 by the faculty of Boston University School of Theology,⁹ though involving different questions, has reported similar results. Significantly, only 22.8 per cent of the respondents to this study checked that "members of all races should have equal opportunities, but segregation is desirable to preserve racial purity," and only 1.9 per cent checked that "some races are inherently inferior, and are not entitled to equal rights and privileges with those of superior capacity." Although wide ranges of opinion were apparent as to the procedures of desegregation, it is striking that only about one fourth of the respondents were willing to make a normative commitment to racial segregation in principle. The figures for the Southeastern and South Central Jurisdictions show that fewer than 50 per cent in both cases would be willing to make a normative commitment to racial segregation in principle.

Both of the studies cited above indicate clearly that the goal of desegregation is supported by the majority of the members of The Methodist Church.

(2) *Support by Negro Protest Sentiment.*—Even if the white majority of The Methodist Church were to lapse into unconcern over the problem of segregation, it is apparent that Negro protest sentiments would continue to keep the goal of desegregation alive. A variety of studies in the past eight years have clearly demonstrated the opposition of a large majority of the members of the Central Jurisdiction to segregation in general and the Central Jurisdiction in particular. Culver found that 92 per cent of the Negroes of the Central Jurisdiction responding to a questionnaire regard the Central Jurisdiction as an example of segregation and that more than 80 per cent did not want to keep it.¹⁰ Dixon found only 7 per cent of

⁸ *Ibid.* These figures sharply contradict the "common sense" guesses of most of the southerners interviewed in the course of the present study. For example, in a personal interview with the writer, a Methodist layman from Mississippi, who is prominent in the Citizen's Council movement (segregationist) of that state, estimated that at least 95 per cent of the people of the South would agree with his general position on segregation. He confirmed this estimate by letter, September 28, 1959.

⁹ This study was conducted by the faculty of Boston University School of Theology as a part of the research project, "The Methodist Church in Social Thought and Action" (MESTA), which is under the sponsorship of the General Board of Social and Economic Relations of The Methodist Church. The four volumes of this study are scheduled for publication beginning in 1960. The results quoted above were made available through the courtesy of the MESTA Committee, and are to be found in its files at Boston University School of Theology.

¹⁰ Culver, p. 96.

⁷ Murray H. Leiffer, "Segregation in Churches," *Christian Advocate*, 131 (March 15, 1956), 10ff.

his Central Jurisdiction ministerial respondents favoring retention of that Jurisdiction, and 73.8 per cent were found to feel that the Jurisdiction "weakens the effectiveness of The Methodist Church as it tries to present the Christian Gospel today."¹¹ A self-study by the Central Jurisdiction in 1956 indicated similarly overwhelming opposition to racial segregation in the church.¹² The panel assigned by the Jurisdictional Study Commission to conduct hearings in the Central Jurisdiction reported virtually unanimous and vehement dissatisfaction with segregation and the continued existence of the Central Jurisdiction. The Boston University MESTA study, finally, reports rejection of segregation by considerably more than 70 per cent of its Central Jurisdiction respondents, with only 1.5 per cent indicating a belief in segregation in principle. Most of these cited studies also reported evidence of the vehemence with which segregation is rejected by members of the Central Jurisdiction.

It is anticipated that this continued dissatisfaction with segregation and the Central Jurisdiction by its members will continue to keep the issue of segregation and the goal of desegregation before the church.

(3) *Biblical Sources of Support.*—As an authority for normative Methodist belief and action, there is little question of the pre-eminent importance of the Bible. Its formal authority is established by one of the "Articles of Religion" which affirms that the Bible contains all beliefs "necessary to salvation" and that anything not contained therein need not "be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."¹³

Among recent attempts to study the basic teachings of the Bible relevant to the general problem of racial segregation in American society, the book *Segregation and the Bible*¹⁴ by Everett Tilson is probably the most comprehensive. Surveying a wide variety of claims by segregationists for Biblical authority, he is able to dismiss most of their traditional arguments by showing that they fail categorically to demonstrate either that the Bible expressly demands or that it clearly implies "the elevation of all Caucasians and the subordination of all Negroes in every place and for all time," the minimal requirements if the Bible is to be used as a witness for the status quo in the American racial situation.¹⁵ Examined in the light of these requirements posed by Tilson, such an attempt as that of Richard Edmonds¹⁶ to establish the superiority of the white race over the Negro in the extent of its evolution is seen to lack Biblical support.¹⁷

This is granted by another segregationist, J. P. Barrett, a Methodist minister from Georgia, who writes that

there are no inferior races nor is there a superior race. There is no Master Race. In God's sight there is no difference between men. Jesus Christ died for one race as much as He did for the others. God loves men of all races equally.¹⁸

He goes on, however, to assert that "God made the races, made them distinctly different and, I believe, He wants them kept different." Even if it could be granted that segregation is consistent, in principle, with the previous statement that "in God's sight there is no difference between men," it is doubtful that the assertion "He wants them kept different" has much Biblical support. Barrett attempts to support it with two Biblical passages, one the Old Testament account of the dispersion at the "Tower of Babel," and the other the suggested divine determination of human "bounds of habitation," as expressed in the "Mars Hill Address" of St. Paul. The first of these, however, deals with the variety of human languages, not races—even if one were to admit the full authenticity and authority of the story. The second is also a tenuous support for segregation in America in that neither the American Negro nor the American white person is in his original ancestral "habitation"! Further, the verse from Acts actually emphasizes the unity of the human race despite the diversity of nationalities.

In another study of the teachings of the Bible concerning race, Surgit Singh has shown that, where the Bible deals with intergroup relationships, as such, the main principle of division is that the "outsider" worships another god, not that he is of a different color. Even in those unusual places in the Old Testament, such as in Nehemiah and Ezra, where intermarriage with outsiders is expressly forbidden, the purpose of the requirement is to safeguard "the integrity of the Jewish religion."¹⁹

Another study, published in South Africa by a commission of the Christian Council of South Africa, is of particular significance in that it refutes, on Biblical grounds, the beliefs regarding race most characteristic among the Caucasians in that part of the world. It emphasizes and carefully documents the Biblical themes of universality, unity, and individual worth, and shows that these are not conditioned by racial considerations.²⁰

Of particular interest to the present study is the specific question of what the Biblical teaching is with regard to the church, because one would expect to find there an important point of reference for the

¹¹ William Edge Dixon, "Ministerial Leadership in the Central Jurisdiction of The Methodist Church" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University Graduate School, 1955).

¹² The Central Jurisdiction of The Methodist Church, *Report of the Commission to Study the Central Jurisdiction*.

¹³ *Discipline*, 1956, par. 65, p. 28; see also par. 66.

¹⁴ Everett Tilson, *Segregation and the Bible* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁶ Richard W. Edmonds, *Segregation: Is it Justified?* (Columbus, Ga.: Muscogee Publishing Co., 1957), pp. 46-47.

¹⁷ This attempt also lacks scientific support. See, e.g., United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *The Race Question in Modern Science* (New York: Whiteside, Inc., 1956).

¹⁸ J. Paul Barrett, *The Church and Segregation* (Augusta, Ga.: Richmond County Chapter of the States' Rights Council of Georgia, 1955), p. 5.

¹⁹ Surgit Singh, "Nation and Race," *Biblical Authority for Today*, ed. Alan Richardson and Wolfgang Schweitzer (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1951), p. 310.

²⁰ The Christian Council of South Africa, *Race—What Does the Bible Say? A Report Prepared by the Commission to Investigate the Teaching of the Bible on Race Questions* (Heidelberg, Transvaal, South Africa: The Christian Council of South Africa, 1952).

beliefs of Methodists regarding the ideal nature of their church. The writer has been unable to discover any written opinion that any racial group should be excluded from The Methodist Church which is based upon Biblical teachings concerning the church. G. T. Gillespie, however, is representative of some who, while recognizing that everything said in the Bible concerning man in general is also true of the Negro in particular, nevertheless holds that the unity of the church, as reflected in the writings of Paul, is to be interpreted as a "spiritual unity" which does not require "revolutionary changes in the natural or social order" such as would be implied in desegregation.²¹ Bishop Earl Cranston defended essentially the same position in seeking to justify the establishment of a separate ecclesiastical structure for Negroes within The Methodist Church during the negotiations preceding Methodist Unification.

It is not a segregated relation. It is an ecclesiastical fellowship representing but one spiritual communion. Christian fellowship is spiritual. It does not inhere in any ecclesiastical scheme.²²

This position seems to hold, essentially, that, while the Bible does not specifically condone segregation in the church, it does not require tangible expressions of the unity of Christians in the church nor challenge the lack of such expressions.

Against this line of interpretation, W. A. Visser 't Hooft writes that

it has been rather loosely assumed in periods gone by that the Bible did not speak about visible organic Church unity, but only about a spiritual unity which need not necessarily take on a tangible form in the world. But today there are very few New Testament scholars who do not admit that this is really an untenable position, and that the Bible does indeed talk about a unity which is incarnate, which must become tangible, and find full expression within this world.²³

The language used by St. Paul to describe the church seems fully to support this latter position. In at least twelve separate passages²⁴ Paul uses the analogy of a physical body to describe the church, usually with the members of the church represented by the working parts of the body. Suggested unmistakably in this often-repeated figure of speech are both the unity of the church and the tangibility of this unity as a physical reality. That the New Testament church itself took seriously the need for a tangible fellowship transcending all social barriers is evidenced by the fact that even slaves should belong to the same congregations as their masters—and on the basis of

equality.²⁵ In a personal interview, one of the Methodist bishops of the Southeastern Jurisdiction, who has been noted for the conservatism of his position in ecclesiastical discussions on problems of race relations, willingly asserted that "ultimately" there is no place for segregation in the church "as the body of Christ." In the light of the Biblical evidence it is possible that most Methodists would agree.

By way of summary, it might be well to quote John Deschner's comment that "the significant fact about the Biblical discussion is that segregationists have yet to show a responsible Biblical exegesis which can lend any support at all to their position."²⁶

(4) *Ecumenical Sources of Support*.—Since The Methodist Church freely acknowledges its kinship with other churches in a wider Christian community, through the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America and the World Council of Churches, in addition to the more informal contacts, it is to be expected that official declarations of these bodies and of other churches would have some influence on the stability of the Methodist goal of desegregation.

In general, most churches and ecumenical religious bodies with which The Methodist Church is related support the same goal. One of the preparatory commissions for the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, charged with the responsibility of exploring the whole question of intergroup relations, noted that "no member church of the World Council reported supporting segregation in theological principle, though there are doubtless individuals who do so."²⁷ In its official report, this commission declared that "the great majority of Christian Churches affiliated with the World Council have declared that physical separation within the Church on grounds of race is a denial of spiritual unity, and of the brotherhood of man."²⁸

The World Council, itself, stated its official conviction that

any form of segregation based on race, color or ethnic origin is contrary to the Gospel, and is incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ. The Assembly urges the churches within its membership to renounce all forms of segregation or discrimination and to work for their abolition within their own life and within society.²⁹

The World Council resolution then points to the "strength and encouragement" which member churches can draw from "the fellowship of the ec-

²¹ G. T. Gillespie, *A Christian View on Segregation* (Greenwood, Mississippi: Association of Citizens' Councils, 1954), p. 13.

²² Joint Commission on Unification of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, *Proceedings*, 3 (New York, 1920), 374-375. Suggested by Culver, p. 63.

²³ W. A. Visser 't Hooft, "The Bible in an Ecumenical Setting," *The Student World*, 49 (Fall, 1956), 48.

²⁴ See Romans 12:5; I Corinthians 10:16, 12; Ephesians 1:23, 2:16, 3:6, 4:4, 4:12, 5:23; Colossians 1:18, 2:19, and 3:15. Cf. John 17, also stressing the unity of Christians.

²⁵ See especially Philemon. It is an interesting observation that, on the basis of precedent, the New Testament can be used more easily in support of slavery than of segregation!

²⁶ John Deschner, "Segregation and the Minister's Faith," *The Perkins School of Theology Journal*, 11 (Spring, 1958), 5.

²⁷ Preparatory Commission V on Intergroup Relations, "The Church Amid Racial and Ethnic Tensions," *The Christian Hope and the Task of the Church* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 38.

²⁸ World Council of Churches, "Intergroup Relations: The Churches Amid Racial and Ethnic Tensions," *The Evanston Report* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), p. 153.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

menical movement" in seeking to implement the objective under difficult circumstances and specifically reaffirms the commitment of the Council itself to fellowship without segregation or discrimination in its own activities.³⁰

The unanimity with which religious bodies have condemned racial discrimination and segregation is so complete and has been documented so well elsewhere³¹ that there would be little point in reproducing the specific statements of the various groups here. It is noteworthy that the list would include even the southern-based The Presbyterian Church in the United States and Southern Baptist Convention, both of which have taken stands supporting the highly unpopular (in the South) Supreme Court decision of 1954 and both of which have successfully resisted attempts to change their stands in subsequent years. Except for a handful of tiny, southern-based sect groups, the writer has been able to discover only one Christian group in the world which is officially rather ambivalent in the area of race relations. This would be the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa, the report of whose Commission for Race Relations declared that

in its essence the Church is the one mystical body of Christ as it exists before God in its spiritual reality. Therefore this unity of the Church must also receive the greatest stress. As opposed to Rome [the Roman Catholic Church], the Reformers have, however, constantly repudiated the identification of the mystic body of Christ with its institutionary revelation. That, however, does not alter the fact that the unity of the Church remains the Christian ideal.

.....
We therefore accept the existence of separate churches according to each indigenous group, but as a matter of principle no person will be excluded from corporate worship solely on the grounds of race or colour.³²

It is to be noted that even in the case of this church we do not have real support for segregation, but almost a latent support for the goal which is affirmed more clearly and openly by the other churches.

It would seem clear, in summary, that the Methodist goal is also supported by a consensus of official opinion, characteristic in one way or another of virtually all of the wider Christian community.

(5) *Concurrence with the "American Creed."*—It was noted earlier in this chapter that the organizing principle of Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* is the conflict between the higher and more general beliefs concerning brotherhood and the basic equality of persons and the lower, more selfish and prejudiced

valuations. A recurrent note in his analysis is the relationship between the higher valuations and the basic ideals of American democracy which embody them.³³ These ideals, according to Myrdal, are woven together in what he refers to as the "American Creed," which is basically accepted by nearly all Americans. The religious sources of much of the "American Creed" and its sanction by Christianity are suggested.

If this analysis is authentic, it may finally be noted here that the goal of The Methodist Church has important support in the consciences of most Americans through their general commitment to American democratic ideals, *whether or not the moral claim of this goal is openly acknowledged.*

iv. General Significance of the Goal

It would appear from the foregoing discussion of The Methodist Church's goal and the sources of support for the goal that the burden of proof does not fall upon those who desire, on the basis of the most fundamental Methodist commitments, to effect a change in the institutional status quo of the church. The institutional status quo does not define the normative commitment of the church but rather the degree to which the normative commitment has become actualized in social patterns. Hence, the burden of proof would appear clearly to rest with those seeking to defend racial patterns which are without apparent support from the Bible, which have little or no official support from other Christian denominations or from the Ecumenical Movement, which are directly repudiated by the General Conference of the church, and which may, indeed, find their denial in the consciences of most Americans. It has been suggested further that popular opinion, particularly of the Negroes of The Methodist Church, is strongly opposed to racial segregation.

It may be pointed out that the concurrent existence of the normative goal or ideal and of the reality of racial segregation represent a tension in The Methodist Church. As John Deschner has put it, this tension represents, in reality, two conflicting conceptions of what the church really is.³⁴ On the one hand is the notion that the church is a form of association of compatible persons who are joined together by various similarities and common interests and by a basically common religious orientation. The emphasis of this conception is upon the group as such, and the implication is clear that the group may, by various "decent" ways control its own membership. On the other hand is the notion that the church is basically defined by the commonality of its religious orientation, so that its membership is clearly based upon that orientation as the only important consideration. Taking his stand with the latter of these interpretations of the church, Deschner points out that the former destroys the real significance of the church.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159.

³¹ See, e.g., Birmingham Council on Human Relations (ed.), *Religious Bodies and the Supreme Court Decision* (mimeographed, Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1957).

³² David M. Paton (ed.), *Church and Race in South Africa: Papers from South Africa, 1952-57, illustrating the churches' search for the will of God* (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1958), pp. 100-101. Emphasis supplied. See also James Hastings Nichols, *Evansion: An Interpretation* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), 147, 151.

³³ Myrdal, pp. xlvii-xlviii, 209, 581, 717, etc.

³⁴ Deschner, pp. 4-9.

A local congregation is not an association of those Christians who happen to like each other, and who can therefore set their own exclusive rules for admission. When that happens, that congregation has not simply omitted a moral implication of the Gospel; it has allowed a fundamental question to arise as to whether it belongs to the Church of Jesus Christ. It is no good trying to solve the race question by asking where people "feel at home." The Church is not our club; it is God's holy instrument, in which we have been permitted a place—but a place which has room only for God's task, and no room for our conditions and preferences.³⁵

From a sociological perspective it should probably be added that the associational functions of a religious group have much importance. Nevertheless, for the church to turn its back upon an important, recognized implication of its most fundamental religious teachings, when the issue has been raised, would seem a repudiation of the basic reason for its existence. When the problem is put in this way, it may be seen that the accepted goal of The Methodist Church in race relations will need to be implemented if the church is to retain its integrity. It may be added pragmatically that without real integrity with respect to its basic religious purpose, it is questionable whether a religious institution could hope for long to retain much popular appeal. Certainly its moral and religious leadership would be greatly weakened.

2. ETHICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS OF STRATEGY

The development of strategy for racial desegregation in The Methodist Church requires that attention be given to ethical principles for at least two reasons. First, ethical discussion is required because the members and leaders of the church who will primarily be responsible for implementing desegregation at every level in the church will be individuals who are at least formally committed to govern all of their actions in accordance with ethical principle. In the extent to which this commitment is real as well as formal, church members will wish to guarantee that all strategic measures be fundamentally moral. They will wish to guarantee that the goal of a racially inclusive church should not be achieved at the cost of violating other values of equal or greater importance.

Secondly, ethical principles will be needed to insure that the goal is not ultimately contradicted by the means used to achieve it. Thus, it is conceivable that the means used to destroy barriers of racial segregation may be such that new and higher barriers are erected. Ethical principles, thus, may help to insure that actions will be fully relevant to the goal.

The problem, however, of determining distinctively Methodist ethical principles is an acute one. The

church does not have any official ethical system in any sense that would be fully applicable here. Turning to Methodists themselves, if asked to identify the Christian ethical principles of greatest importance to them as Methodists, it is not unlikely that most members and leaders of the church would speak about such general principles as "Christian love" or "the will of God." At least the various writings, speeches, resolutions and reports consulted in connection with the present study have made frequent appeal to such principles. They are, indeed, helpful as reminders that Methodists would generally accept an ideal commitment to full cooperation with God and to a perfectly good will toward all other persons. A host of problems descend, however, upon the strategist who seeks to translate such general principles into the very specific decisions and choices which must be made. Granted the importance of love and good will, for example, how does one identify the good of other persons so that love can be implemented fully and completely? How is it possible to harmonize a whole range of possible values and goals, some of which must inevitably conflict with one another? How is it possible to relate ethical principles effectively to vast institutional structures and to the realm of social power relationships, as well as to the everyday requirements of individual Christian living? What is needed is a rational instrument rendering possible an effective translation of the religious and moral foundations of the life of Methodists to the complex problems which they face in the world of experience, and in terms which are logically clear and acceptable when understood.

In general, the present study will assume the validity of one creative attempt to deal with this problem, that represented by the delineation of "Moral Laws" by Edgar S. Brightman. The reader is referred to Brightman's complete discussion for a systematic exposition of these principles.³⁶ The broad assumption of these "Moral Laws" is that "goodness is not mere convention or *mores*, nor mere fulfillment of instinctive needs, but, rather, a control of our social behavior and our instinctive tendencies by rational laws."³⁷ The relevance of these laws to corporate as well as individual agents is specifically affirmed by Brightman,³⁸ and it will be assumed in the present study that the moral laws apply both to the individuals making up the institutions within The Methodist Church and to the institutions themselves.

Of these moral laws, more should be noted as to the particular relevance of each of the second group, or the "Axiological Laws," to the problem of this study.

First of these is the "Axiological Law," which holds that "all persons ought to choose values which are self-consistent, harmonious, and coherent, not values which are contradictory or incoherent with one

³⁶ Edgar Sheffield Brightman, *Moral Laws* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1933).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 238ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

another.”³⁹ In terms of the present study, this law is a formal statement of the principle that the goal of desegregation must be utilized in such a way that it does not contradict basic values of The Methodist Church.

A second principle from Brightman’s formulation of the axiological moral laws is the “Law of Consequences,” which requires that “all persons ought to consider and, on the whole, approve the foreseeable consequences of each of their choices” or that one should “choose with a view to the long run, not merely to the present act.”⁴⁰ The most general application of this principle to our study will be to require that the consequences of every proposed strategic action shall, so far as possible, be anticipated. The application of the findings of the social sciences to the problems of desegregation should contribute greatly to an understanding of the predictable consequences of every action, although it is hardly to be expected that all of the consequences of any given action could ever be anticipated totally. The word “foreseeable” in Brightman’s formulation of this law seems to suggest that total anticipation is not possible.

A third principle is the “Law of the Best Possible.” According to this law, “all persons ought to will the best possible values in every situation; hence, if possible, to improve every situation.”⁴¹ An important assumption of this study, growing out of this principle, is that nearly every potentially interracial situation in The Methodist Church *can be improved* with respect to the goal of a racially inclusive fellowship—this including, of course, the connectional levels of the church. Two things are implicit in this assumption: first, that progress will tend to occur by degrees rather than by complete immediate attainment of the goal; second, that morally there is no excuse for inactivity or even for efforts toward achieving the goal which are less complete than would be possible for a given person in a given situation. This second point makes clear that the “Law of the Best Possible” can in no sense be used as a justification for the status quo or inactivity. Culver notes, in this connection, that the justification of segregation as a “transition pattern” often loses all its force because of the “do-nothing” attitude of those who use it.⁴² The same observation could doubtless be made concerning many of the appeals to “time” and “gradualism,” though “gradualism” properly understood may be the essence of effective strategy.

A fourth principle which helps to clarify the ethical requirements of strategy is the “Law of Specification,” according to which “all persons ought, in any given situation, to develop the value or values specifically

relevant to that situation.”⁴³ Implicit in this principle is the notion that every situation is, in some sense, unique, and that, therefore, the specific action appropriate to every situation will also be unique. This principle, combined with the “Law of the Best Possible,” will have great importance for those situations where the pressure of society at large is directed heavily toward the maintaining of segregation. It will similarly inform the actions of those whose situations are already without rigid caste structure, or those whose situations are somewhere in between the extremes. In any event, strategic formulations should be guided by their understanding of what is the best possible action to further the goal in every situation.

A fifth principle is contained in Brightman’s “Law of the Most Inclusive End,” which holds that “all persons ought to choose a coherent life in which the widest possible range of values is realized.”⁴⁴ A thoughtful application of this law may serve as corrective to a too-narrow conception of the goal. In his own discussion of this law Brightman notes that “exclusive devotion to any one value is self-destructive. Any value ceases to be a value if pursued exclusive of all others.”⁴⁵ It is conceivable that the goal could be ultimately self-defeating if allowed to exclude every other value or goal of The Methodist Church. This law should, in short, inhibit fanaticism among those desirous of achieving a racially inclusive fellowship in the church. However, it is important to consider that the goal of an inclusive church is, itself, directed toward the wider range of values. The arbitrary exclusion of any group of people from full fellowship with others would seem, in itself, a direct violation of the “Law of the Most Inclusive End.”

The sixth of the “Axiological Laws” is the “Law of Ideal Control.” According to this principle, “all persons ought to control their empirical values by ideal values.”⁴⁶ In his own discussion, Brightman refers to “empirical values” as “value claims” and to “ideal values” as “real values.”⁴⁷ Thus, this principle would require that all value claims be subjected to regulation by the highest insights. While this does not appear to require that lesser values be denied or treated with contempt, it does suggest guidance for dealing with value conflicts. And although the process of determining the actual priority of values is one in which all Methodists should continually and creatively be engaged, it should be readily apparent that purely institutional values (such as the size of membership rolls, size of budget, etc.) are not as close to the center of Methodist belief as the quality of fellowship, important as both kinds of value are. It should be

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁴² Culver, p. 9.

⁴³ Brightman, p. 171.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

seen also that the value of harmony, in the sense of the absence of overt expressions of tension, could hardly be preferred above all other values in the life of the church where this harmony is only a camouflage of suppressed hostilities and dissatisfactions. It should be even more apparent that such personal values as comfortable living and social prestige should not be prior to integrity, both personal and institutional, and to the high privilege of helping to achieve a distinctively Christian and Methodist solution to pressing social problems.

Chapter Three

Relevant Contributions of the Social Sciences

1. ASSUMPTIONS OF THE CHAPTER

Two converse assumptions must logically be present in any attempt to plan social change. In the first place, it must be assumed that social relationships can be altered radically by persons acting purposively. In the second place, it must be assumed that human behavior is conditioned by non-rational factors to an extent permitting some dependable prediction. The first of these assumptions is conscious rejection of any completely deterministic interpretation of social realities. The second rejects the notion that the unpredictability of social realities makes significant planning impossible. In accepting these assumptions, the present study will follow such social scientists as Gordon W. Allport, Robert M. MacIver, Gunnar Myrdal, Talcott Parsons, J. Milton Yinger, George Easton Simpson, Robin M. Williams, Jr., and others who assume that some degree of purposive social action is possible.

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to summarize important contributions of the social sciences to an understanding of the problem of this study. Since the literature on race relations in the social sciences is vast and growing rapidly, no attempt will be made here to discuss this literature comparatively or analytically as such. To do so would be to accept a formidable task which would be tangential to the problem of this study. The focus of this chapter, rather, will be upon the important applicable contributions of the social sciences. The ideas employed here will be chosen on the basis of the following criteria:

(a) they must be the most coherent interpretations of known facts—they must account most easily for the known facts;

(b) they must not be contradictory to known facts;

(c) they must be internally consistent in the sense that they are not self-contradictory;

(d) they must be important and relevant to the purposes of this study;

(e) reliance will be placed upon important textbooks, used as authoritative, where there is a substantial volume of empirical evidence and a substantial consensus of expert opinion in support of a theory or hypothesis;

(f) theories and hypotheses used will not necessarily be limited to those appearing in important textbooks or otherwise reflecting the authority of expert consensus, but the judgment of experienced students of race relations and social strategy will be accepted as probable in the absence of more conclusive evidence on important points.

2. RELEVANT GENERAL CONCEPTS

Prior to direct consideration of the findings of the social sciences which are specifically related to race relations and strategy, a summary of some of the relevant general concepts contributed by social science may help to give perspective to the total study.

i. The Concept of Reference Groups

Basic to the very possibility of social science, of course, is the fact that persons interact with one another individually and in groups. Many of the findings of the social sciences concerning the nature of this interaction have been summarized under the rapidly developing concept of reference groups or

3. CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of this chapter it would be possible to conclude at least four things: first, that the appropriate Methodist goal in the area of race relations includes the complete desegregation of the life of the church at all levels; second, that this goal is well supported and is likely to be a permanent one; third, that failure in the church to implement this goal will have serious results in terms of lost integrity; and fourth, that ethical principles are available to provide general guidance in the formulation of strategy.

reference systems.¹ In general, reference group theory holds that the individual's values and attitudes are largely determined by those of the groups with which he most basically identifies himself: "a commonplace subscribed to by the man-in-the-street as well as by the social scientist is the proposition that many of the attitudes of an individual are greatly influenced by the norms of groups to which he belongs."² The reason for this influence is, in general terms, that the relationships which the individual has with persons in the group are important to him. He conforms to the values and norms of the group largely in order to be accepted by the group.³

Several points should be noted with regard to reference groups in order to clarify the basic concepts. First, it is generally held that one may identify himself with a "reference group" whether or not he actually "belongs" to it in any formal sense of membership or in the sense of his being accepted by the group. His acceptance of its values and his identification with its members with respect to those values is enough to constitute it a reference group for him. Nor, indeed, is it impossible that groups of which he is formally a member may not be for him reference groups. If they are not the reason would be that he is either indifferent to membership or that he rejects the group—in any case he does not identify himself with the group.

Secondly, it is important to note that a single individual may be identified with considerably more than one reference group.

Reference groups are, in principle, almost innumerable: any of the groups of which one is a member, and these are comparatively few, as well as groups of which one is not a member, and these are, of course legion, can become points of reference for shaping one's attitudes, evaluations and behavior.⁴

One may refer to different types of reference groups for guidance on different types of values and attitudes. Thus, a political party and fraternal organization might both affect one's values and attitudes, but in different spheres. On the other hand, reference groups may be conflicting in value, the same individual being presented with contradictory value claims by different reference groups with which he identifies himself. In this case a tension is created which demands resolution. Presumably the tension could be resolved in a variety of ways, including attempts to ignore it and endeavor to achieve a creative innovation within the reference groups themselves, or, perhaps, the sacrifice of one reference group to the re-

quirements of another. Of particular interest here is the observation that "it is next to impossible to restructure relations between groups without some hostility and conflict."⁵ Of the specific ways in which these value tensions can be resolved, "ritualism" may be singled out as having particular importance here. As used by Merton, "ritualism" involves the abandonment of goals and values which are considered unattainable, combined with almost compulsive continued observance of institutional norms.⁶ Ritualism suggests the substitution of the "formalities" of a reference group for real identification with its values and norms.

Thirdly, it is noteworthy that reference groups may or may not be "groups" at all. Merton holds that the definition of "group" should be restricted to aggregates of persons who are actually involved in social interaction.⁷ Nevertheless, as Merton also notes, reference identification can be made to collectivities, or just to other individuals with whom one identifies oneself.⁸ Where reference is not made to "groups," as narrowly defined, it is probable that one either anticipates acceptance by the group or that he may remember acceptance, thus assuming some background of relational interaction. Nevertheless, it is possible that the term "reference system" might better provide for these various reference possibilities.

Fourthly, reference systems may be negative. That is, one may have his values and attitudes formed by his active rejection of identification with a reference system.⁹ Adolescent rejection of parental values and attitudes might serve to illustrate this form of reference system.

Finally, it should be noted that reference system concepts include analysis of personal and group expectations. The values and attitudes absorbed in connection with a reference system include evaluations of oneself and of the behavior that is to be expected from occupants, including oneself, of particular "roles" in the reference system. Thus, other members of a reference system may expect certain forms of behavior from one identified with the system on the basis of the values of the system. In the absence of specific interaction within this system, the identification which the individual himself has with the system functions to enforce a particular conception of his role and of expected behavior.

The general aim of reference group theory, then, is "to systematize the determinants and consequences of those processes of evaluation and self-appraisal in which the individual takes the values or standards

¹ See, among many possible citations, Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (3d ed. rev.; Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 225-386, and Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley (ed.), *Readings in Social Psychology* (3d ed. rev.; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1958), pp. 265-290.

² W. W. Charters, Jr., and Theodore M. Newcomb, "Some Attitudinal Effects of Experimentally Increased Salience of a Membership Group," in Maccoby, Newcomb, and Hartley (ed.), p. 276.

³ Merton, p. 254.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁵ Daniel Dodson, "The Creative Role of Conflict in Intergroup Relations." Speech delivered to the Eleventh Annual Conference of the National Association of Inter-Group Relations Officials, Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 20-22, 1957 (mimeographed), pp. 2-3.

⁶ Merton, pp. 149-153. Merton uses the term in a slightly different but readily translatable context.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 299ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 300-301.

of other individuals and groups as a comparative frame of reference."¹⁰

ii. Social Control and Conformity

A concept closely related to that of reference groups is that of "social control." Social control has been described as

a collective term for those processes, planned or unplanned, by which individuals are taught, persuaded, or compelled to conform to the usages and life-values of groups. Social control occurs when one group determines the behavior of another group, when the group controls the conduct of its own members, or when individuals influence the responses of others.¹¹

Broadly speaking, many of the principles and findings discussed as strategy will be directly related to social control.

At this point, however, only one of the findings concerning social control will be introduced. This is the well-supported hypothesis that the unanimity of pressure placed upon the individual by a reference group or system is of great importance in determining whether or not he will conform to its values or attitudes regarding specific matters. It has been shown rather conclusively that many persons will conform to a group judgment on a matter entirely in opposition to their own clear personal judgment so long as the judgment of others in the group is completely unanimous.

S. E. Asch's pioneering research on this problem¹² has demonstrated that the unanimity of social pressure is a more important variable determining conformity to groups than is the size of the group. The subjects of his experiments were placed in small groups with the task of determining the length of lines. With the exception of single subjects of the experiments, all others in the groups were instructed to give a single, patently false answer, thus testing whether the unsuspecting subject would be able to trust his own (more nearly correct) judgment or yield to the unanimous pressure of the rest of the group's judgment. A large number of the subjects went along with the group rather than trusting their own judgment. However, when one of the pre-instructed members of the group was told to dissent from the majority opinion, the subject of the experiment was found to be much freer to make up his own mind. Asch concluded from his findings that

it is clear that the presence in the field of *one other* individual who responded correctly was sufficient to deplete the power of the majority, and in some cases to destroy it. This finding is all the more striking in the light of other variations which

demonstrate the effect of even small minorities provided they are unanimous. Indeed, we have been able to show that a unanimous majority of 3 is, under the given conditions, far more effective [in producing social conformity] than a majority of 8 containing 1 dissenter.¹³

He noted further that this "points to a fundamental psychological difference between the conditions of being alone and having a minimum of human support."¹⁴

iii. Dominant and Minority Groups

Basic to the problem of this study is the common sociological understanding of dominant and minority groups. It is important to recognize that such groups are not defined by their relative size—sociologically, a dominant group may be much the smaller numerically—but by their relative power and influence in the society under question. According to one writer, a minority group may be defined as

a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. The existence of a minority in a society implies the existence of a corresponding dominant group with higher social status and greater privileges. Minority status carries with it the exclusion from full participation in the life of the society.¹⁵

In American society, and in The Methodist Church, Negroes would fit closely the definition of "minority group" and white persons generally that of "dominant group."

While it is undoubtedly arbitrary to conclude the discussion of general sociological concepts at this point, particularly since most of the remainder of the chapter will have important theoretical implications, it is believed that further discussion of general concepts and issues at this point would not add sufficiently to the treatment of the present problem to warrant it.

3. FACTORS SUPPORTING RACIAL SEGREGATION

A consideration of the factors supporting racial segregation would appear indispensable in the development of strategies to abolish such a social situation. The considerable work of the social sciences in this area in recent years has produced a number of important insights into the nature of these factors.

While there have been some efforts to reduce seg-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

¹¹ H. C. Brearly, "The Nature of Social Control," *Social Control*, ed. Joseph S. Roucek (Toronto, New York, and London: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1947), p. 3.

¹² S. E. Asch, "Effects of Group Pressure upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgments," in Maccoby, Newcomb, and Hartley, pp. 174-183. Suggested by Campbell and Pettigrew, p. 10.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Louis Wirth, "The Problem of Minority Groups," in Ralph Linton (ed.), *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 347, quoted in George Eaton Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination* (2d ed. rev.; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), p. 22.

regation to some single-factor causal analysis,¹⁶ many contemporary students of race relations have preferred to think of segregation as resulting from the interaction of several distinct, though interrelated, types of factors. The available evidence supports the reasonableness of this approach. In their important textbook, Simpson and Yinger hold that prejudice¹⁷ may best be understood as being a manifestation of three types of causes: those attributable to forces within individual personalities, those attributable to intergroup conflict and competition on a social scale, and those attributable to the cultural beliefs and "folkways" that are passed along from one individual to another and from one generation to the next and accepted uncritically.¹⁸ For convenience, the present discussion will be organized on the basis of these three categories, while two more will be added in order to be certain that some important issues involved in segregation are not overlooked.

i. Prejudice and Personality Needs

Prejudice, as an attitudinal "predisposition to respond to a certain stimulus in a certain way,"¹⁹ must be understood partly in the light of the function that it fulfills within the individual personality. As "categorical thinking that systematically misinterprets the facts,"²⁰ it must be referred, in part at least, to irrational needs within the personality which must be met in some way.

Prominent among the generally accepted conceptions of the personality functions of prejudice is the "frustration-aggression" theory.²¹ According to this theory, hostility and aggressive inclinations are built up within the personality in response to the obstruction of its goals, whether these represent "natural" (such as food and sleep) or "socially induced" (such as wealth and success) needs. Normally, one would expect this hostility to be directed against the source of the frustration, in which case prejudice would not likely be a result. Often, however, the real source of

frustration is not made the object of hostility, usually because it cannot be identified, because it is a person or group holding power or authority over the individual, or because it is a person for whom the individual has great affection. In such cases the hostility may be "deflected" onto some other object. Prejudice occurs, according to this theory, when the substitute object is a group of people who are available, highly visible, and not in a good position to retaliate. Members of such groups are "stereotyped"; that is, they are treated on the basis of characteristics obtaining from their group membership—not as unique individual personalities. The group characteristics and alleged group characteristics are regarded as bad in order to rationalize hostile attitudes toward the stereotyped group. A person whose frustrations have caused him thus to treat the members of an identifiable group as alike objectionable, prior to any individual contact, may be regarded as prejudiced.

A second, closely related personality function of prejudice is described by the "repression-projection" theory.²² "Repression" involves the exclusion from consciousness of "all or part of a personal conflict situation," especially of "those elements in a conflict that would lower our self-esteem if frankly faced."²³ "Projection" is "the tendency to attribute falsely to other people motives or traits that are our own, or that in some way explain or justify our own."²⁴ According to this theory, impulses, emotions, or sentiments which the individual feels but cannot bring himself to face, usually because his conscience condemns them, are projected onto a visible group. The rejected feelings, thus externalized, can then be safely condemned by the conscience without danger to the individual's self-esteem. Thus the expression of hostility toward the stereotyped minority group may provide a curiously perverted outlet for moral activity: a battle against the evil "essence" falsely attributed to the minority group. Further, in relation to a group thus morally condemned, the individual may be led to feel that he, himself, is "not so bad after all." And the presence of a group which one's prejudice has morally disqualified may provide an actual outlet for one's repressed feelings of greed, violence, or sexuality. In these ways prejudice provides a ready way to handle the difficult feelings.

A similar, but analytically distinct form of projection, which Allport describes as "Complementary Projection," occurs in "the process of explaining and justifying our own state of mind by reference to the imagined intentions and behavior of others."²⁵ Thus, one's own fears and anxieties are justified and explained by the evil intentions of others. In the case of prejudice, fears and anxieties are projected upon a minority group which is then suspected of evil intentions. It is not, of course, to be assumed that

¹⁶ See, e.g., Herbert Aptheker, *The Negro People in America* (New York: International Publishers, 1946), for an attempt to reduce prejudice and segregation to economic exploitation, and T. W. Adorno, et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), which attempts to reduce them to defective personality patterns.

¹⁷ For present purposes "prejudice," as used by Simpson and Yinger in developing this three-factor analysis, could stand for "forces supporting segregation" since social patterns, as understood here, are ultimately sustained by attitudes. Prejudice, thus, corresponds to the kinds of attitude which support discrimination (as personal behavior) and segregation (as a social arrangement). Used in this sense, however, prejudice should not signify simply defects in personality patterns.

¹⁸ Simpson and Yinger, pp. 69ff. With differences in literary treatment, these three factors are generally accepted also in such works as Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954); John P. Dean and Alex Rosen, *A Manual of Intergroup Relations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955); Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions: A Survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Group Relations* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947); and Robert Morrison MacIver, *The More Perfect Union: A Program for the Control of Intergroup Discrimination in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948).

¹⁹ Simpson and Yinger, p. 14.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²¹ See Allport, pp. 343ff.; Williams, pp. 52ff.; Simpson and Yinger, pp. 76ff.

²² Allport, pp. 382ff.; Simpson and Yinger, pp. 80ff.

²³ Allport, p. 385.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

prejudice is the only way of dealing with guilt feelings, fears, etc. As Allport points out,²⁶ these feelings may be faced realistically without resorting to projection.

A third, relatively simple theory holds that prejudice may be an unconscious attempt to enhance one's low self-esteem.²⁷ A member of the socially dominant group who feels himself a personal failure may take comfort in the notion that he is, after all, better than all of the members of the minority group. Thus prejudice may serve as "compensation," a function often noted in connection with the motivations of members of extremely racist movements.

A fourth theory notes that prejudice may serve "to bring meaning into a confusing and ambiguous crisis situation."²⁸ A political or economic crisis whose roots are not clearly discernible is apt to cause widespread anxiety among those affected by it. In such a situation the mechanisms of "frustration-aggression," "projection," and "compensation" may serve to provide an object for emotional release as well as an "explanation" bringing a sense of order and stability.

A final theory indicates a more indirect relationship between personal motivations and prejudice. With most people, this theory holds, the expression of prejudiced attitudes reflects little more than conformity. Motivated by the need for social acceptance by others in one's "reference group," one may accept the prejudices of others in order to avoid friction and embarrassment. A more deeply prejudiced person may cause a situation in which others in his group "string along" to avoid a scene, only partly believing what they profess on the surface.²⁹

The important point to be gained from this section on prejudice and personality needs is that prejudice functions to meet various personality needs. It is irrational in the sense that prejudice is never, as a personality mechanism, fully appropriate to its object. Since prejudice can function in various ways and with varying intensity, it would seem important in analyzing any situation of racial segregation to be aware of the personal psychological dynamics of the personalities involved.

ii. Competition for Scarce Values and Social Conflict

While, as has been suggested, racial segregation always implies some background of prejudice and ultimately of personality need, it also functions in important ways with respect to competition and social conflict. It primarily functions to give an advantage to certain groups in competition with others. In every society, as Williams points out, there are two kinds of values sought by individuals: there are common values (such as religious salvation or national

prestige) which are shared in by everyone and which "are not scarce in the sense that one individual's sharing will reduce others' enjoyment of the value," and there are also values which are scarce and in the division of which there tends to be competition and conflict. Wealth, power, and prestige, the main forms of scarce value, are "distributive" in the sense that

in any given state of the economy, the more economic goods held or consumed by one individual, the less there are for others. Power consists of control over others; hence it is inherently scarce and distributive. Prestige status is meaningful only in terms of relative ranking within a system: for one individual or group to be "high" requires that others be ranked "lower."³⁰

As a social arrangement, segregation makes it possible for a dominant group (e.g., white) to secure a disproportionate share of these scarce values at the expense of a subordinate group (e.g., Negro). The attitudes of members of the dominant group tend to follow their "interests" with respect to the scarce values. Not, to be sure, in any absolute causal sequence, but in the sense that "it is always easy to believe that which harmonizes with one's class interest."³¹ Segregation, it must be remembered, results primarily from the attitudes of the dominant group.

These generalizations have been abundantly illustrated by various writers. Simpson and Yinger point out, for example, that the prejudice of many early Americans against the Indians was functionally related to the struggle between the settlers and the Indians over possession of the (inherently scarce) land. In recent years, they remark, "categorical race prejudice against the Indian has sharply declined—and so has the economic function which the prejudice formerly served."³² Conversely, Oriental immigrants were welcomed without prejudice on the Pacific Coast during the early years when they were needed for such mass labor jobs as the building of the railroads. But when unemployment began to rise during the 1860's and 1870's and Orientals were perceived as economic competitors, prejudice against them and demands for the halt of immigration began to mount.³³

The Negro people were, of course, brought to America primarily to serve as slaves. Their exploitable position in relation to the dominant white group has not disappeared at any time during the intervening years, although slavery itself has been abolished, and recent years have witnessed rapid progress in certain areas.³⁴ The low average income of Negroes, the frequent delineations between "Negro jobs" and "white jobs," with the less desirable being reserved for Negroes, the "race-wage differential," and the

²⁶ Williams, p. 55.

²⁷ Simpson and Yinger, p. 140.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 127.

³⁴ See the excellent historical survey of the Negro in the American economic life in Myrdal, pp. 205-426. See also Eli Ginzberg, *The Negro Potential* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956).

usual lack of job security for Negroes all suggest unmistakably that segregation serves the interests of the white group at the expense of the Negro group in relation to the distribution of the scarce values of the American economy.³⁵

Similar observations could be made about Negro-white relations with regard to power and prestige arrangements. In American political life the Negro has but rarely been able to exercise any leadership, and, especially in the South, he has often systematically been denied even the right to vote. This has meant that he has been forced to assume an inferior position in power relationships, that he has not been able to share equally in the scarce values which are distributed politically (e.g., educational facilities), and that he has been vulnerable in courts of law. In terms of prestige values, it has often been noted that American cultural life, particularly in the South but also in the rest of the country, has been organized in such a way that race has great importance as a determining factor. Negroes, even with high personal qualifications, such as college degrees or artistic attainment, are in countless ways forced to acknowledge the superior prestige of white people in American culture.

Given these facts, it should not be difficult to understand the ease with which prejudiced attitudes are utilized as rationalizations for social patterns which confer such privileges upon the dominant group. It is not at all necessary to believe that prejudice is a *conscious* effort to justify one's disproportionate share of scarce values—although, indeed, this would be the case with politicians who manipulate the fears of the masses with respect to race relations in order to maintain themselves in power and with business leaders who use similar mechanisms to discourage organized labor. Rather, in most cases it is likely that the relationship between prejudiced attitudes and self-interest is *unconscious*. It simply is easier to accept ideas which are in accord with one's self-interest, particularly when they are available in the culture and when they are generally accepted and repeated by other persons of one's reference groups. Similarly, it is not unlikely that motives of self-interest may encourage and reinforce the irrational uses of prejudice to meet the personality needs discussed in the preceding section above.

iii. Cultural Factors Supporting Segregation

The use of a stereotyped minority group as the object of prejudice in attempting to meet personality needs, as discussed in section i, or in providing a rationalization for what is basically exploitation, as

discussed in section ii, is rendered possible by the fact that such stereotyped beliefs and the emerging racial customs can be culturally preserved. Social beliefs and customs relating to intergroup relations have a self-perpetuating character which is logically distinct from the two previously discussed major factors supporting segregation, although the factors of personality needs and intergroup conflict may be needed to account for the origins of such beliefs and customs. According to Simpson and Yinger,

an attitude toward a minority group can be seen, from one point of view, as simply one of the folkways, one of the learned ways of responding that have been acquired as part of the standard cultural equipment. A person is taught to be prejudiced against certain groups just as he is taught to dislike certain foods that people in other societies consider great delicacies. He may be equipped with a number of culturally learned responses to minority groups that he is never called upon to use. These responses can scarcely be called functional, except in the general sense of representing the cohesiveness of a culture group. They survive, however, as group-patterned ways of thinking, ready to influence one's responses if an occasion arises.³⁶

Persons accept the cultural norms because

not to do so not only would put them in the intolerable position of having constantly to make decisions but would also tend to cut them off from the groups with which they identify—thus producing a sense of isolation that few human beings can accept.³⁷

The relationship between these observations and reference group theory, as discussed above, should be obvious. Persons conform to cultural patterns largely because these patterns are *expected* within reference systems.

While, for many people, acceptance of racial beliefs and customs apparently does not go much beyond this cultural level,³⁸ at least three ways can be shown in which this relatively innocuous form of prejudice renders important support to segregation. First, acceptance of traditional beliefs and practices helps to reinforce the attitudes of those for whom prejudice serves important personality or competitive functions. Second, such mild prejudices may still govern an individual's actions sufficiently to have important effects upon his behavior when he is called upon to make decisions governing future events and patterns. Third, prejudiced beliefs and cultural patterns which are kept alive by tradition are "available" to fulfill personality or competitive functions as the need arises (that is, personality needs might never result in prejudice in the absence of cultural patterns and beliefs

³⁵ See *ibid.*, and Herbert R. Northrup, *Organized Labor and the Negro* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944); A. Philip Randolph, "Discrimination Against Minorities," *Labor's Relation to Church and Community*, ed. Liston Pope (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), pp. 61-76; and St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945).

³⁶ Simpson and Yinger, pp. 150-151.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

³⁸ See Edward A. Suchman, John P. Dean, and Robin M. Williams, Jr., *Desegregation: Some Propositions and Research Suggestions* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1958), p. 58. It is not improbable that this would be true of most people, except where there is some unusual social maladjustment.

defining this as a possibility, and sharp competition for scarce values might never result in discrimination in the absence of the necessary "cultural permission").

While a full description of American racial customs and beliefs would be unnecessary here, there are two aspects of them which may be found to have significant strategic implications. The first of these is the "white man's rank order of discriminations," by which Myrdal summarized his findings on the relative importance attached by white men to the maintenance of various forms of discrimination. In his study of the attitudes of white Southerners, he found the following order expressed consistently:

- Rank 1. Highest in this order stands the bar against intermarriage and sexual intercourse involving white women.
- Rank 2. Next come the several etiquettes and discriminations, which specifically concern behavior in personal relations. . . .
- Rank 3. Thereafter follow the segregations and discriminations in use of public facilities such as schools, churches and means of conveyance.
- Rank 4. Next comes political disfranchisement.
- Rank 5. Thereafter come discriminations in law courts, by the police, and by other public servants.
- Rank 6. Finally come the [economic] discriminations . . .³⁹

White persons, Myrdal discovered, are most concerned about maintaining the first of these forms of discrimination and least concerned about Rank 6. Negroes, conversely, were found *least* interested in Rank 1, and *most* interested in abolishing Rank 6. While this "rank order" should be used with some qualification,⁴⁰ it would seem evident that its constant cultural reiteration gives it real significance.

The other aspect of American culture regarding race relations which must be mentioned here has a great, though secondary, importance. This is the regional pattern in America. In virtually every discussion of race relations in America tribute is paid at some point to the hostility of the regionally self-conscious South to "outside interference" from other sections of the country with its racial patterns. The existence of this southern regional self-consciousness has been carefully documented⁴¹ and is plentifully evidenced in popular literature. Important for present

purposes is the generalization that intensive regional reference group identification and hostility toward other parts of the country may operate to sustain patterns of segregation where change agents can effectively be identified as alien to the Southern community. As a cultural force this latent hostility, by no means shared by all southerners, would appear to owe much to the heavily charged tradition of conflict between the northern and southern regions of the United States, including the Civil War and more recent economic and political competition.

iv. Minority Group Attitudes

In the preceding three sections analysis of the factors supporting segregation has concentrated upon those factors arising primarily within the dominant group. This analysis suggests correctly that segregation is initiated and supported primarily by the dominant group. It is generally conceded by many social scientists, however, that attitudes within the minority group itself may also function to support segregation.

This is particularly obvious in the case of minority group members whose attitudes are heavily conditioned by the fact that they derive personal benefits, in relation to the "scarce values" of wealth, power, and prestige, from segregation. Simpson and Yinger point out the internal struggle within the privileged few of the minority who are, in a sense, actually benefited by segregation:

for many years the members of the middle and upper classes in the Negro population have found themselves in a difficult ideological situation. Their dilemma is that the walls of the racial system limit their economic and social opportunities, but at the same time segregation protects and advances such interests as these classes already possess.⁴²

Thus, a poorly qualified Negro school teacher may find herself qualified enough to secure a position in an all-Negro (segregated) school. A Negro politician may find that segregation has created a clear-cut situation in which his role in "delivering the Negro vote" will be appreciated and rewarded. And many Negroes have found themselves appointed as the "Negro representative" on otherwise all-white committees and boards. There are, indeed, many roles of leadership, power, and prestige which have been institutionalized for the Negro as a Negro as a result of segregation. While viewed from the perspective of the total minority group or of the long-run future such roles could scarcely be regarded as adequate compensation for segregation, there is doubtless the temptation within most Negroes enjoying such privileges to cling to their "vested interests," thus providing additional motivational support for continued segregation.⁴³ E. Frank-

³⁹ Myrdal, pp. 60-61.

⁴⁰ This "rank order of discriminations," based as it is upon the primary aim of preventing amalgamation (Rank 1), would still be an accurate reflection of the concern of the most vocal segregationists, as indicated by the literature of groups such as the White Citizens' Councils, despite the fifteen year interval since it was first published. As Myrdal himself points out (p. 59), however, this concern with maintaining racial purity scarcely does justice to the importance of competitive interests as a basic concern for many people. One might expect that, for those whose real motives in supporting segregation are economic or political, Rank 6 would be more important than Rank 2, or, perhaps, even than Rank 1. The competitive motive probably tends to be hidden because it would be socially disapproved in American culture as a basis for discrimination.

⁴¹ See Howard W. Odum and Katherine Jocher, *In Search of the Regional Balance of America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945), pp. 16ff.

⁴² Simpson and Yinger, p. 415.

⁴³ See E. Franklin Frazier, "The Negro's Vested Interest in Segregation," in Arnold M. Rose (ed.), *Race Prejudice and Discrimination: Readings in Intergroup Relations in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 332-339.

lin Frazier has documented the existence of a significant Negro social sub-culture in America, composed of many of the more privileged Negroes, and based upon delusions regarding Negro wealth, social standing, and achievement.⁴⁴ According to Frazier, the Negroes who are caught up in this little world are encouraged to evade the real intellectual, scientific, and artistic standards of the total society and to place much more emphasis upon the quest for status than upon responsibility.⁴⁵

On a more subtle level, it has been demonstrated psychologically that minority group members occasionally accept the stereotyped and unfavorable view of the alleged minority group "traits" and develop a kind of self-hatred. Thus,

[Negroes] have heard so frequently that they are lazy, ignorant, dirty, and superstitious that they may half believe the accusations, and since the traits are commonly despised in our western culture—which, of course, Negroes share—some degree of in-group hate seems almost inevitable. For example, in unconsciously accepting the white man's evaluation of pigmentation, the light-skinned Negro may look down upon his darker-skinned brother.⁴⁶

This in-group hatred, as a minority group attitude, may help to support segregation through the acceptance, by minority group members of segregation as "justified."

Widespread passivity among minority group members may also indirectly support segregation by leaving it unchallenged. Organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have frequently discovered the need to overcome passive inertia among Negroes in leading them to make use of newly won rights (such as voting) or to assert other rights. This passivity, where it is found, appears to be a compound of continuing fears of reprisal, the normal uncertainties and insecurities accompanying change, and an easily understandable social inertia—complicated, in some cases, by the self-hatred discussed above and by general feelings of hopelessness and pessimism. Of course, the extent of passivity within a minority group can be overestimated, too, as many of the residents of Montgomery, Alabama, discovered during the long and successful Negro bus strike.

In general, this section has attempted to show that, in addition to the personality, competitive, and cultural factors which support the continuation of segregation by a dominant group, factors also operate within the disprivileged minority group toward the same end. In many respects, as the next section will show, the latter factors are dependent upon the former, and it should not be assumed that factors

operating within the minority group could long sustain segregation by themselves.

v. Rational Factors and the Theory of the "Vicious Circle"

Supporters of segregation have been able to point to empirical data in support of prevailing stereotypes regarding the Negro which help to rationalize the existence of racial segregation. Statistics on crime, venereal disease rates, illegitimate birth rates, and the results of intelligence tests have been quoted voluminously to establish that the Negro is by nature more violent and criminal, looser with respect to sexual morals, and generally less intelligent than the white man.⁴⁷ While the bias of the usual appeals to such evidence is generally revealed by the failure to differentiate among individuals within racial groups—thus suggesting the operation of the causal factors which have been analyzed above—the higher crime, disease, and illegitimacy rates, and the results of some I. Q. tests have been made to function, as factual data, to support segregation.

There is widespread agreement among social scientists, however, that evidence given to support the contention that the Negro is by nature inferior intellectually or morally is *itself a product of social causes*. Primary among these social causes is discrimination itself. Thus, Myrdal notes that "white prejudice and discrimination keep the Negro low in standards of living, health, education, manners and morals." But this has a "cumulative" effect because the lower standards, in turn, give "support to white prejudice."⁴⁸ MacIver, in describing this "vicious circle," notes that "the more severe the discrimination the more evidence it will itself provide to justify its own perpetuation."⁴⁹ The "vicious circle" functions in the following way:

the discriminating group starts with an advantage. It has greater power, socially and politically, and usually it has a superior economic position. Thus it is enabled to discriminate. By discriminating it cuts the other group off from economic and social opportunities. The subordination of the lower group gives the upper group a consciousness of its superiority. This psychological reinforcement of discrimination is in turn ratified by the factual evidences of inferiority that accompany the lack of opportunity, by the mean and miserable state of those who live and breed in poverty, who suffer constant frustration, who have no incentive to improve their lot, and who feel themselves to be outcasts of society. Thus discrimination evokes both attitudes and modes of life favorable to its

⁴⁴ Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* Frazier suggests, with undoubted accuracy, that this sub-cultural "Black Bourgeoisie" primarily represents an escape from inferiority feelings. This kind of illusory world, as he suggests, is, of course, not limited to Negroes!

⁴⁶ Allport, p. 152.

⁴⁷ See, e.g., Edmonds, pp. 23-48; W. B. Selah, "The Doctrine of Separate but Equal Opportunities for All Races," *The Road to Brotherhood*, . . . , p. 40; and John Bell Williams, *Where Is the Reign of Terror?* (Greenwood, Miss.: Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, 1956).

⁴⁸ Myrdal, p. 75.

⁴⁹ MacIver, p. 78.

perpetuation, not only in the upper group but, to a considerable extent, in the lower group as well.⁵⁰

It is important to observe from this that the vicious circle is not limited to objective material or cultural conditions but that it has significant psychological meaning as well. Thus physically, culturally, and psychologically the "facts" are created which may be used to justify and rationalize further exclusion of a minority group. And although the factors involved in racial segregation are, as has been seen above, very complex, the concept of the "vicious circle" may help to underscore their interrelatedness.

4. PRINCIPLES OF STRATEGY FOR DESEGREGATION

The preceding sections have endeavored to establish a general frame of reference within which discussion of the findings of the social sciences relating more specifically to the problems of strategy in achieving desegregation would be more understandable. In the present discussion of strategy it will be observed that a considerable volume of investigation has been undertaken to determine the most effective ways of achieving desegregation.

i. Cumulative Causation

The principle of cumulative causation, which first attained prominence through its development by Myrdal, may be understood as a strategic extension of the concept of the "vicious circle" discussed above. While the above discussion emphasized the negative aspects of the "vicious circle" as a support for racial segregation, it should now be pointed out that the interdependent factors of a social situation such as segregation can be made to operate in any direction. A change in any one factor, thus, may be expected to have effects upon all of the other factors.

Since white prejudice and discrimination are found to "cause" low Negro standards, and Negro standards, reciprocally to "cause" white prejudice and discrimination, Myrdal holds that

if either of the factors changes this will cause a change in the other factor, too, and start a process of interaction where the change in one factor will continuously be supported by the reaction of the other factor. The whole system will be moving in the direction of the primary change, but much further.⁵¹

Since both white prejudice and Negro standards are extremely complex, Myrdal notes that if any of the component factors in white prejudice are changed it will have a weakening effect upon the prejudice, and if any of the component factors in the Negro condi-

tion are changed the change will tend to have a cumulative effect, raising the other conditions.

The strategic importance of this principle would seem to be that certain factors are likely to be more accessible to a change agent than others. As MacIver has suggested,

the appropriate control of one or more factors of the many-factored situation may suffice to bring about the desired result. Therapy must generally go on that principle and has won many successes that way. Our controls are mostly over things of which our understanding is still obscure.⁵²

Williams asserts further that "there is a definite possibility that the factors which are most important in producing hostility and conflict are by no means the same as those which are most important for control purposes."⁵³ Thus, the strategist may be able to secure significant changes despite his lack of control over even the most important factors supportive of segregation in a particular situation.

While the principle of cumulative causation has gained wide acceptance, it has had to be modified in the years since *An American Dilemma* was published. MacIver has pointed out that it can be misleading, as a strategic principle, if it is forgotten that a single change in any variable will produce counter forces seeking to reestablish the original situation.⁵⁴ And criticizing Myrdal for exaggerating "the ease with which prejudice can be changed when he says that a change in any one segment of the interacting circle will have effects on all other segments," Simpson and Yinger note that "the impulse toward change may be temporary and local; it may be submerged by the cumulative force of the continuing factors in prejudice. . . . The mutually interlocking and sustaining forces of prejudice give it power of recovery."⁵⁵

MacIver seeks to restate the principle in more acceptable terms by stating that

a favorable change in any one of the distinctive conditions will, if it can be held constant long enough, tend to raise the other conditions and to bring about a readjustment of the whole system in conformity with the favorable change. By "long enough" we denote the period within which the requisite habituations and reconditionings, the responses of the group to the altered condition, are formed and established. . . . When we say that the advance must be "held constant" we mean that the forces that brought it into being must continue in operation, aided by whatever new forces the change may evoke, in sufficient strength to resist the assaults of resurgent opposing forces.⁵⁶

Thus modified, the principle of cumulative causation would appear to support three strategic generalizations: first, that significant changes, of cumulative effect, can be made despite the lack of complete

⁵⁰ MacIver, p. 22.

⁵¹ Williams, p. 41.

⁵² MacIver, p. 69f.

⁵³ Simpson and Yinger, p. 181.

⁵⁴ MacIver, p. 71.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

⁵¹ Myrdal, p. 76. See also his methodological essay on Cumulative Causation, pp. 1066ff.

control of all factors in a situation; second, that, generally speaking, the attempt to change a segregated situation will be more effective the more broadly it is based (dealing with several rather than only one of the factors supporting segregation); and third, that it is usually wise to select for attack those points in the complex of a segregated situation which are most vulnerable. In relation to this last point, it should not be overlooked that the easiest points of attack are not necessarily the most vulnerable ones.⁵⁷

ii. Dealing with Pathological Prejudice

It has already been noted that in some persons prejudice fills important personality functions unrelated to its object, the minority group itself. Frustrations, repressions, insecurities, ambiguities, etc., were seen to contribute to personal prejudice. It should be apparent that any steps to relieve these causes will serve to deprive a segregated situation of some of its support, thus contributing to desegregation. It is possible, of course, that some frustrations and insecurities may be traced to situational factors which can be modified. Other cases may be traceable to causes so highly pathological that only the highly trained psychiatrist could be expected to locate and treat them. Two points have been made regarding an "every day" approach to pathological prejudice.

The first point is that a direct attack upon the deeply prejudiced personality is generally futile as a means of reducing prejudice. Direct attack upon persons usually arouses defensiveness and tends to raise rather than lower frustration, insecurity, and other causes of prejudice: "guilt feelings are uncomfortable and they may be got rid of by a harder and blinder defensiveness, supported by new justifications, so that the spirit of discrimination is not diminished but rather intensified."⁵⁸ Although, as will be discussed further in the next section, there is a real place strategically for direct handling of issues and appeals to the conscience, it is to be doubted that direct attacks upon persons as such are ever wise. The converse point may be made, secondly, that techniques, such as personal counseling or group therapy, which give support to prejudiced personalities may help to diminish the sense of frustration and insecurity and the need for repression and projection. A prejudiced person should be made to feel that he is himself accepted *despite the fact that many of his attitudes may not be*. In such an atmosphere of support and acceptance, as well as challenge, he may be able to gain more insight into the real nature of his problems.

⁵⁷ Thus, some minor advantage or insignificant ideological ground may rather easily be gained. Such concessions may serve, however, to strengthen segregation and its supporting beliefs. Dean and Rosen remark, for example, that "token representation" of minority group members on a board or committee may do more harm than good by creating the illusion of effective representation when there actually is none (p. 30). A "vulnerable point," it should thus be specified, must here mean the point or manner in which *significant* change may be effected.

⁵⁸ Maclver, p. 89. That guilt feelings, as such, are to be avoided strategically will be denied in the next section. In the case of the relatively few extremely and pathologically prejudiced personalities, however, it is to be doubted that guilt can be handled constructively.

It should be pointed out that these observations regarding the treatment of pathological prejudice could not serve as the foundation of a complete strategy for racial desegregation, despite the frequently encountered assumption that pathological prejudice is the primary "cause" of discrimination and segregation. Foregoing sections of this chapter indicate clearly that it is but one of several important lines of causal analysis. There is little evidence, indeed, that very many persons are afflicted with pathological prejudice, and a strategy which overestimated the number of such persons clearly would risk miscalculation.

Further, the kind of supportive counseling indicated as therapeutically effective in dealing with such highly prejudiced personalities is likely to be extremely time-consuming in relation to its fruits. A strategy based upon therapy would seem to assume that effective changes in social patterns, such as segregation, cannot be made until radical personality changes are made in the relatively few individuals who most intensively support those patterns. Succeeding sections of this chapter will suggest that there are quicker ways of effecting social change and more vulnerable points, specifically, at which segregation may be attacked. Therapy, nevertheless, does have its place. Supportive counseling and similar approaches may often be needed as supplements to other strategic measures, often to reduce the amount of damage which the extremely prejudiced personality might inflict upon other strategic measures.⁵⁹

iii. Strategies of Education for Desegregation

The analysis of the supports and causes of prejudiced attitudes, as summarized in the first part of this chapter, would appear to indicate the following as possible objectives of an "educational"⁶⁰ approach:

- (a) the correction of erroneous beliefs about the minority group and the supposed value of segregation by making correct information available;
- (b) the breaking down of intellectual and emotional stereotypes of the minority group which depersonalize its members and attempt to justify their lower status and the instilling of the ability to see minority group members as persons;
- (c) the appeal to conscience by making the contradiction between segregation and accepted moral values apparent and inescapable, thus motivating support for change.

These objectives should be borne in mind throughout the discussion of educational strategies.

(1) *General Educational Principles*.—It should be apparent that education, as a technique for intergroup

⁵⁹ A therapeutic approach to prejudiced personalities may, of course, often be a desirable end in itself, quite apart from its implications as a strategy for racial desegregation.

⁶⁰ "Educational" approaches will here be defined as all attempts to influence beliefs and attitudes except, on the one hand, those which might be designed as "therapy," and, on the other, those involved in overt manipulation of situational factors.

relations, will be most effective when it conforms to established principles of educational psychology. Careful planning for education should involve extended study of this field.

One of the most important of the general principles stressed by many writers is that which holds that education must generally avoid direct attack upon the personalities of those who are to be educated. Where possible, educational situations should be structured in such a way that it is easy for a person to give up prejudice without having to admit previous error. It has also been found advisable to allow the learners initially "to express freely their verbal hostilities to instructors who maintain an atmosphere of calm objectivity."⁶¹ Application of these principles may help to minimize covert resistance to teaching.

The attitudes of the teacher have been shown to be very important. A prejudiced teacher, who is not positive in attitude toward the material being taught, could be expected to do great damage in attempting to teach an unprejudiced point of view. Harding and others have summarized the dynamics of an effective teaching situation:

- (a) the information presented is more favorable to the ethnic group in question than the previous beliefs of the average student; (b) the instructor indicates to the students (directly or indirectly) that his own attitudes toward this group are more favorable than their own previous attitudes; and (c) the relationship between students and instructor is such that the students tend to accept the instructor's feelings and action orientation toward the group in question, as well as the information which he presents.⁶²

It has also been shown that information about the object of prejudice may more effectively be taught in situations where "the learners themselves actively participate in gathering the relevant information."⁶³

Another principle holds that education in intergroup relations is usually most effective when handled indirectly: that is, when information and instruction regarding intergroup relations is imparted as incidental to other teaching. Material which may seem threatening to individuals or to a learning group may thus be brought out most effectively in a non-threatening context. Similarly, activities and materials presented which simply lead individuals to take the other group for granted ("e.g., moving pictures which show Negroes as members of various kinds of groups, where the emphasis of presentation is upon what the group is doing") will usually be most effective.⁶⁴ And a general emphasis upon values and characteristics shared in common with the minority group may be valuable as an indirect strategy of education.

(2) *The Exposure of Error and Moral Appeal.*—There is a pronounced reluctance by many students of race relations to ascribe much importance to the presentation of factual information as an effective strategy against biased beliefs and attitudes. It is generally felt that, while specific intercultural education has demonstrated some value, its effectiveness is not high. The reason for this appears largely to be that "the perception and interpretation of 'facts' is self-selective and the individual can 'protect' himself against facts he does not wish to believe."⁶⁵

Myrdal, however, points to the importance of subjecting the crudely false and biased popular beliefs to a "rigorous examination in the light of the factual evidence," despite the fact that "this educational objective must be achieved in the face of the psychic resistance mobilized by the people who feel an urgent need to retain their biased beliefs in order to justify their way of life." For, according to Myrdal,

if this educational effort meets with success the illogicalities involving valuations become exposed to the people who hold them. They are then pressed to change their valuations to some degree or other. For if popular beliefs depend upon valuations, as we have shown, the valuations also depend upon the beliefs in our civilization bent upon rationalism. When supporting beliefs are drawn away, people will have to readjust their value hierarchies and, eventually, their behavior.⁶⁶

It is important to note the qualification implied in the word "eventually" here. The results of such an educational exposure of error are not expected by Myrdal to be immediate.

Myrdal adds another important qualification. The exposure of error will have little effect upon beliefs and valuations, he notes, if there should be widespread moral cynicism: "if people become willing to throw aside even their most cherished general valuations, such as their faith in democratic liberty, equality, and Christian brotherhood—the situation permits almost any type of reconstruction." There can be, in this event, "a revulsion to fascism and pagan gods."⁶⁷ The force of Myrdal's view would appear to rest on the fact that erroneous beliefs can continue to do their damage until effectively challenged and on the assertion that most persons desire to orient their lives in accordance with reality rather than with beliefs of proven falsity.

Similar views are held by others who regard an appeal to the more universal values, and thus to conscience, as effective strategy. And it is generally acknowledged that an appeal to conscience may be useful to the reinforcement of the attitudes of those who are already predisposed to an unprejudiced view. Others, however, urge that an appeal to conscience may do more harm than good by creating feelings of guilt and hostility "among those who are unfavor-

⁶¹ Williams, p. 65.

⁶² John Hardings, Bernard Kutner, Harold Proshansky, and Isidor Chein, "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," *Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. Gardner Lindzey (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954), pp. 1021-1061.

⁶³ Williams, p. 65.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁶⁵ Suchman, Dean, and Williams, p. 38.

⁶⁶ Myrdal, p. 1030.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1033.

able.”⁶⁸ And Simpson and Yinger remark that “most of us are skilled at compartmentalizing our professions of belief and our other actions, overlooking any contradiction.”⁶⁹

In support of Myrdal, here, it could be said first, that feelings of guilt do not necessarily lead to hostility but may be directed toward repentance and the desire for change and, secondly, that, while most people are skilled at compartmentalizing, there are limits to this also. It would appear that the resistance of compartmentalizing might be overcome by a persistent and specific enough educational attack. Excepted, in this, would probably be the pathologically prejudiced personality discussed earlier.

In the light of the foregoing discussions it should be apparent also that the exposure of error and the appeal to conscience will be most effective where it is done without unnecessary personal recrimination and where the appeal is made in terms of positive support for the more universal ideals which are generally accepted. With these qualifications it is probable that this represents an extremely vulnerable point in segregation.

(3) *Propaganda and Mass Appeal*.—Simpson and Yinger define propaganda as “the manipulation of symbols on a controversial topic when the controversial element is disguised, emotional appeals are used, some or all of the relevant facts are left out or distorted, and the motives of the propagandist and/or the sources of the propaganda are hidden.”⁷⁰ According to this definition, not all mass appeal would be propaganda, and not all propaganda would need to involve mass appeal. The two are treated together here because mass communication seems unusually available for use in propaganda, and propaganda is primarily encountered on a mass level.

Samuel H. Flowerman has suggested six variable conditions which are important for successful mass persuasion in intergroup relations:

1. Control of the channels of mass communication;
2. A high degree of “saturation” (“the proportion of protolerance symbols to the total number of symbols available in the stream of communication”);
3. The ability to attract and hold attention;
4. The ambiguity of the situation, indicating an opportunity for definition and clarification through propaganda;
5. Conformity to group standards—to the group frame of reference;
6. The respectability of the sponsorship and sources of authority.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Suchman, Dean, and Williams, p. 41.

⁶⁹ Simpson and Yinger, p. 738.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 736. This definition is used in the context of a contrast between propaganda and “education.” The definition of education employed thus is, however, somewhat narrower than that suggested above. Propaganda, in the present discussion, is not being contrasted with education.

⁷¹ Samuel H. Flowerman, “Mass Propaganda in the War Against Bigotry,” *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* (October, 1947), pp. 429-439. Except where indicated by direct quotation marks, this section is summary rather than direct quotation.

In evaluating specific items, Flowerman holds that they must reach the subject under favorable circumstances, “his curiosity must be aroused but not in an unpleasant manner,” he must like the item—or at least not be repelled by it, and the item must be comprehended.

Effective propaganda usually emphasizes an emotional or value-oriented appeal, as distinct from purely factual content.⁷² It may emphasize important symbols shared in common by dominant and minority groups, while unobtrusively showing how minority group members also participate in these symbols.⁷³ Thus, the suggestion is made that common values and basic kinship of the persons of both groups with each other are more important in the long run than any differences. Further, propaganda may effectively strive for personalization, seeking, perhaps, to bring members of the dominant group to identify themselves with the feelings of minority group persons as individuals. Personalization, which may easily be achieved through such media as books, periodicals, and movies, thus may help to break down the stereotypes which see minority group members only in terms of assumed traits.

Subject to the above conditions and suggestions, propaganda may have strategic value. It may have an important function in reinforcing those already somewhat friendly or neutral to its appeal, and it may be very significant in unstructured or ambiguous situations,⁷⁴ although it is rather easily evaded by those hostile to it.⁷⁵ Its role is therefore largely a supportive one. Also to be remembered, however, are the possible “boomerang” effects which propaganda may have, particularly with those already heavily committed to prejudiced attitudes. Suchman, Dean, and Williams summarize six of these possible effects as follows:

1. Nativistic reactions—increased in-group awareness of differences;
2. Defensive hostility—increased feelings of threat;
3. Defensive solidarity—increased out-group aggression;
4. Verbalization of previously inarticulated prejudices;
5. Reinforcement (by revealing the extent of the existing problem);
6. Aroused guilt which may be expressed in hostility.⁷⁶

Effective strategy must avoid these negative reactions.⁷⁷

Strategy must face one more problem in relation to propaganda: how prejudiced propaganda is to be handled. Simpson and Yinger suggest four principles:

⁷² Other “educational” approaches may, of course, also include emotional and value-oriented appeal.

⁷³ Williams, pp. 66-67.

⁷⁴ Carl L. Hovland, “Effects of the Mass Media of Communication,” *Handbook of Social Psychology*, . . . , pp. 1062-1103.

⁷⁵ See Eunice Cooper and Marie Jahoda, “The Evasion of Propaganda: How Prejudiced People Respond to Anti-Prejudice Propaganda,” *Journal of Psychology*, 23 (January, 1947), 15-25.

⁷⁶ Suchman, Dean, and Williams, pp. 41-42.

⁷⁷ MacIver raises the additional question of whether propaganda could, by definition, be a workable strategy within the framework of democratic objectives, holding that it is not conducive to an atmosphere of truth-seeking. (P. 219.) While he may here assume too negative a definition of propaganda and underestimate the importance of value appeal as such, it is certain that propaganda must also undergo this kind of criticism.

1. Do not overlook the importance of hate propaganda.
2. Where possible, deal with it indirectly, by furnishing true information, by developing people immune to prejudice, not by direct attack.
3. Do not exaggerate the extent of the rabble-rouser's following or the strength of his influence.
4. Stress the injury his actions bring to the whole society, not to some "poor, oppressed minority."⁷⁸

These principles accord well with the general understanding of prejudice as it has been developed in this chapter.

(4) *Contact as an Educational Strategy.*—It is often asserted that actual contact between dominant and minority group members is the best way of breaking down the depersonalizing stereotypes. A number of studies have borne this out in a general way, with the reservation that much depends upon the *kind* of contact.⁷⁹ Thus, it is generally held that the kinds of contact characteristic of segregated society, i.e., those based upon inequality of status between the dominant and the minority groups, actually do more to *confirm* prejudice. Subject to this reservation, however, it has been found that contact can serve a valuable stereotype-breaking function in the presence of certain conditions. Among the conditions frequently mentioned are the following:

1. when the individuals are nearly equal in socio-economic status and share similar values and interests;
2. when the contact situation involves pursuit of common goals, the facing of common problems or dangers, or the joining in a common cause;
3. where minority group members do not appear in stereotyped roles; and
4. where the circumstances of contact are not basically unpleasant.

These conditions, of course, rule out the casual contacts between members of different races which strengthen stereotypes by being occasions for their application.

The strategies discussed in this section have been primarily concerned with the removal of attitudes and beliefs which help to support racial segregation. They are not to be confused with strategies which actually remove segregation itself. They may well be described as the phase of *preparation* for desegregation. The more *active* possibilities will be discussed in the next section.

iv. Variable Factors in Active Intervention

In addition to strategies which deal with segregation indirectly by seeking to change the motivations

and opinions of those who support it, a growing body of evidence suggests impressively that direct changes may be made effectively in segregated social patterns by the active intervention of those possessing sufficient power. In a significant number of cases desegregation has been effected in the armed forces, in industry, in the public schools, and in churches by direct actions resulting in a *fait accompli*, or established fact. Typically, these changes, affected by persons holding appropriate power or authority, have been accepted rather quickly after an initial furore. It has, indeed, been suggested by some writers that such direct actions are often the best means of securing actual changes in attitude, with basic attitude changes *following rather than preceding changes in social patterns*.⁸⁰ Often the transition away from segregation has been smoother than expected, and predicted tensions and problems often have failed to materialize.⁸¹

Attempts to achieve desegregation by direct intervention have sometimes ended in failure, however, and a number of variables have been suggested as spelling the difference between success or failure. Following are some of the more important of these:

(1) *Access to Appropriate Power and Authority.*—One desiring to effect desegregation through direct action would obviously need to have sufficient power and authority to do so. The strategist not having direct access to the necessary power and authority would need either (a) to persuade the persons having the power to use it for the desired end, or (b) to devise some means of replacing or circumventing those holding the power. Stressing these points, Dean and Rosen emphasize the importance of the "gatekeepers," or the individuals responsible for official action who can either open or close the "gates" admitting minority group members.⁸² If the person desiring change is himself a "gatekeeper," well and good. Otherwise he is reduced to one of the other alternatives.

James B. McKee raises in this connection the issue of whether one should appeal generally to the present power structure in a community or attempt to create a new power base of public support for de-

⁸⁰ See, e.g., Allport, pp. 471, 510; and Suchman, Dean, and Williams, p. 60.

⁸¹ The frequent effectiveness of the *fait accompli* would appear to support the belief that most persons supporting segregation do so largely as a matter of conformity to prevailing social patterns. (See above.) It is conceivable that the successful change agent has essentially inverted this situation, thereby getting conformity "on his side." Thus, the normal desires for social acceptance and the avoidance of friction and instability have been made to support the *fait accompli* where they previously have supported segregation. Cf. Simpson and Yinger, p. 782; and Allport, pp. 285-286. It should be noted in this connection that "conformity," as such, could hardly be described as the *end objective* of the strategist. Rather, the end objective would have to include *positive support* for full racial integration by persons motivated by firm convictions, and strategy must include recruitment of such support. Cf. Paul Keesemeti, "The Psychological Theory of Prejudice," *Commentary*, 18 (Oct., 1954), p. 362, who notes that "we cannot really combat prejudice without firm convictions." This consideration, however, does not nullify the strategic usefulness of the fact that people do tend to conform to prevailing social patterns. While positive support is preferable to conformity, conformity to desegregation is generally to be preferred to opposition.

⁸² Dean and Rosen. Cf. MacIver, p. 91.

⁷⁸ Simpson and Yinger, pp. 746-747.

⁷⁹ Williams, pp. 69-73; Allport, pp. 261ff., etc. See also Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1955). Stouffer discovered that persons having had most contact with those of different ideas and values are most likely to show tolerance toward different ideas.

segregation and other "liberal" causes.⁸³ Holding that "the strategy offered in the *Manual* [Dean and Rosen] is conservative," McKee suggests that the appeal to a present "power elite" to effect desegregation only strengthens the existing status quo, whereas a more direct appeal for public support might help to disrupt the present conservative power structure and encourage the development of new leadership. It could be replied that an attempt to create broad public support often is difficult and time-consuming, particularly where desegregation is not a popular issue, that existing power structures may not be unalterably conservative, and that attempts to circumvent community leadership may court obstruction. The point seems well taken, however, that every use of power or appeal to users of power should be examined carefully as to its long term and side effects. From an *ethical* point of view, it may be said further that a great deal depends upon whether or not the social power structure is basically a responsible one—that is, whether it is constitutionally delineated, its procedures are not ultimately arbitrary, and it is responsible to all those whose welfare is affected by it.⁸⁴ Where power structures fail to meet these criteria it is possible that more harm than good could be done by attempting to use them directly.

In any event, direct intervention requires that some access be had to appropriate power and authority.

(2) *The Manner of Approach*.—The way in which direct intervention is undertaken is a second important variable emerging from actual experiences with desegregation. Quick, decisive actions, without vacillation, to establish specific patterns of desegregation are apt to be most successful, particularly where aggressive impulses can be deflected into harmless channels. Confusion and uncertainty "about the modes of desegregation and the final outcome" make for conflict and opposition.⁸⁵ Dean and Rosen remark that "where there are clear lines of authority or administrative control, people tend to go along with the rules and regulations that are passed down from the top, even when their initial feelings about these regulations may not be favorable."⁸⁶ Direct action will be most effective when it establishes such a clear, unambiguous condition as a *fait accompli*. Potential opposition, thus, is faced with an accomplished fact before it has had time to organize itself.

Effective strategy does not usually call for the taking of a vote on whether or not a group or situation is to remain segregated because

polling those involved in advance of an inter-group change typically calls forth many more negative reactions than will actually occur if the

change is undertaken as matter-of-factly as any other change that might be instituted.⁸⁷

Discussing the psychology involved in this fact, Allport suggests that "polling" is apt to fail because the first impulse of most people is to obey their prejudices: "Why expose oneself to needless annoyance by voting to work beside a Negro, a Jew, or other member of a disliked minority." A more direct action may succeed, however, because

such an attitude often arouses at least a trace of shame, more especially since the tradition of fair play and equal opportunity are authentic values to most Americans. It is for this reason that strong and forthright action from "higher up" . . . is, after an initial flurry of excitement, generally accepted. The *fait accompli* is often welcomed if it is in line with one's conscience.⁸⁸

Simpson and Yinger make the point again that positive actions are generally stronger than negative ones which involve an attack on persons. The object should be the establishment of improved *conditions*, not the attack on *persons*.⁸⁹

(3) *The Role of the Change Agent*.—Aside from considerations of power, it is apparent that the role of the change agent himself is an important variable. If, for example, the person or group responsible for a change can be identified as an "outsider" the effectiveness of his action is likely to be diminished. Williams suggests that

outside agencies coming into a local community to stimulate, initiate, or otherwise affect programs directed toward intergroup relations will meet minimum resistance when they: (a) work through local persons and established local groups; (b) avoid extensive publicity for themselves; (c) adapt techniques and organization to local circumstances rather than propose a rigid scheme prepared in advance.⁹⁰

Simpson and Yinger note, however, that not all leadership needs to be indigenous to a situation and that "outside" interference" may indeed sometimes be the most effective.⁹¹ This might conceivably be true where there is considerable local leadership rivalry and an outsider could be regarded as being above the factionalism or where the force of outside publicity has had importance.

It would seem, also, that persons whose identifiable roles hold high prestige might be expected to have more success as change agents than others, other things being equal. Further, it would seem important to note whether the leadership in directing change represents a serious departure from popular expecta-

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁸⁸ Allport, pp. 275-276. There are, of course, exceptions to these generalizations. Where possible, decisions to desegregate which emerge from group process may be more stable and more readily accepted. And in some circumstances, voting may be the only access to the power necessary to effect desegregation. In most instances, however, experience suggests that voting on whether or not to desegregate is an ineffective procedure.

⁸⁹ Simpson and Yinger, p. 783.

⁹⁰ Williams, p. 76.

⁹¹ Simpson and Yinger, p. 781.

⁸³ James B. McKee, "Community Power and Strategies in Race Relations: Some Critical Observations," *Social Problems*, 3 (Winter, 1958-1959), pp. 195-203.

⁸⁴ Cf. World Council of Churches, *The Church and the Disorder of Society*, Vol. III of *Man's Disorder and God's Design: The Amsterdam Assembly Series* (5 vols.; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), pp. 120-154, 200-201.

⁸⁵ Suchman, Dean, and Williams, pp. 39-40.

⁸⁶ Dean and Rosen, p. 158.

tions regarding role-behavior of the change agent. These observations would accord with the discussion of "reference systems" above.

(4) *Other Situational Variables.*—It is important to note that evidence points to certain "situations" as being more hospitable to direct intervention strategies than others. Thus, Myrdal has pointed out that crisis situations are particularly good opportunities for direct leadership:

When a sudden and great opinion catharsis occurs in society, customs and social trends seem to the participants to be suspended or radically changed, as they actually are to a certain extent. In this sense history is undecided; it can take several courses. Leaders—whom we call either "statesmen," "thinkers" and "prophets" or "demagogues" and "charlatans," depending upon our valuations of their aims and means—capture the attention of the masses and manage to steer the upheaval in one direction or the other.⁹²

In a certain sense, according to Myrdal, every social situation involves some "balancing of forces in conflict with each other" with a continuous "possibility of rapid, and even induced, change," but some do so more than others, and the strategist needs to be aware of the difference.⁹³

Williams has suggested, almost as "rules of thumb," that situations "in which there are relatively tolerant initial attitudes in the majority population," the most effective procedure for desegregation will be the "gradual introduction of selected individuals, with a minimum of prior discussion or announcement." On the other hand, in situations where there is "relatively strong initial prejudice" the most effective procedure will include a "statement that the minority will be introduced, accompanied by a considerable volume of information, exhortation, and discussion prior to the change itself."⁹⁴ These "rules of thumb," which Williams advanced as hypotheses, have gained considerable acceptance as a result of experiences with desegregation during the past ten years.

(5) *Effective Consolidation.*—It is finally important to note that direct intervention can only be successful if its effect can be permanently stabilized.⁹⁵ Sometimes stabilization can effectively be done through the passing of laws which define the new situation, or through the careful definition and publication of new policy. If Allport and others are correct in asserting that "the person with character-conditioned prejudice likes order, but especially social order,"⁹⁶ it is apparent that changes should be accompanied by evidences that they will not produce social anarchy and chaos. Further, where possible it would appear wise strategy to accompany rapid, direct intervention changes with reassurance and psychologically support-

tive measures for persons who seem deeply opposed. Such persons should also be allowed to express their feelings—without, of course, any implication of vacillation on the policy itself.

To summarize: the available evidence clearly shows that direct intervention to change existing social patterns such as racial segregation can be carried through effectively where due attention is paid to the suggested variables; further, that such successful changes tend strongly to effect corresponding and supporting changes in attitude of the people involved in the situations. Whereas therapeutic and educational strategies appear essentially to involve *preparation* for desegregation, direct intervention is more nearly identifiable as the point of desegregation itself.

v. Minority Group Strategy

Most of the principles discussed above apply with equal force to all persons desiring to effect desegregation, whether they themselves belong to the dominant or the minority group. Since, however, it may be assumed that the interest of minority group members in change will generally be more direct, it may be helpful here to mention some of the findings of the social sciences relative to the most effective strategies to be pursued by the members of the minority group.

(1) *Minority Protest.*—The analyses of segregation and social change thus far should make one point very clear: change is never likely to occur in the absence of motivational forces for change adequate to overcome the forces upholding the status quo (segregation).⁹⁷ In only very rare circumstances could desegregation be accomplished in the absence of minority group desire for desegregation. And, up to a certain point, one might normally expect any increase in the amount of expressed minority protest against segregation to further the process of desegregation. In discussing this fact, MacIver suggests that the point to be avoided by protest expressions is an outright assertion of demands far exceeding present possibilities. This caution, according to MacIver, does not apply to the "unequivocal assertion of the goal of complete equality," nor to "drastic or spectacular action for moderate demands." As both MacIver and Myrdal point out, minority protest activities need to be harmonized with elements within the majority group who also desire change and with "changing custom."⁹⁸ This would appear to say that expressions of minority protest will be most effective when they (a) convey the protest of the entire minority group against a situation excluding them and defining them as unequal, and (b) when they invite the assistance of persons and groups of the dominant group in breaking down caste barriers. Delicate calculation of immediate demands would seem called for in every

⁹² Myrdal, p. 1033.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 1034. Cf. MacIver, pp. 53ff., for a suggestive discussion of types of situational equilibria.

⁹⁴ Williams, p. 73.

⁹⁵ See MacIver, p. 89.

⁹⁶ Allport, p. 404. See also Adorno and others.

⁹⁷ This principle of change is helpfully analyzed by Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1951), pp. 493ff.

⁹⁸ MacIver, pp. 97-98.

situation, but in every situation measures designed to strengthen the unanimity of expressions of minority protest would seem necessary to maintain pressure on existing conditions. Thus, minority group members having vested interests in segregation may often need to be challenged in one way or another to place the good of their group above personal self interest.

Among the ways in which protest has been expressed in the past are writing, public speech, non-violent resistance, and the use of political powers. The creative possibilities for the effective expression of protest seem unlimited.

(2) *Minority "Self-Improvement."*—While agreeing with most writers in the field of intergroup relations that "there is a strategic danger in the emphasis on minority self-improvement as the way to reduce prejudice and discrimination," with its false implication that the minority group is itself responsible for being the object of prejudice and discrimination, Simpson and Yinger point out that "nevertheless, attention by minority group members to the effects of their characteristics and their response to hostility, *however caused*, can be of value."⁹⁹ Williams suggests that

a vulnerable minority can itself help to reduce hostility and conflict insofar as there is group control over individual members, by:

(a) educating its members to an understanding of the dominant group's reaction to the minority's values and behavior

(b) careful study of the behaviors of its own members which are regarded as objectionable by other groups

(c) minimizing conspicuous display of traits of marked negative-symbol value

(d) participation as *individuals* in wider community activities which are widely regarded as necessary in the common welfare.¹⁰⁰

These points accord well with the findings of this chapter. While a one-sided emphasis upon "self-improvement" in the absence of effective expressions of protest would appear likely to communicate agreement with prejudiced viewpoints and, thus, to do as much harm as good, effective strategy for minority groups must emphasize both approaches.

⁹⁹ Simpson and Yinger, p. 802.
¹⁰⁰ Williams, p. 77.

5. EMERGING PERSPECTIVES ON STRATEGY

The purpose of this chapter has been to summarize relevant and important findings and principles of the social sciences which may serve as the basis for the planning of strategies for racial desegregation. The chapter has included consideration of relevant general principles, of findings and principles which provide understanding of the various and interrelated factors which support racial segregation as a social pattern, and of findings and principles specifically related to strategies. In the specific use of these materials, as has been indicated throughout, much will depend upon the demands of specific situations.

It may be helpful to note here, in concluding this chapter, that five "phases" of strategy are discernible in the preceding discussions. These may be summarized as follows:

First, the phase of *role validation*, in which the change agent develops the expectation within the relevant reference system that his role in that system will be used for the purposes of effecting social change;

Second, the phase of *preparation* for desegregation, which includes strategies basically designed to change or modify attitudes which support segregation, including strategies of therapy, education, etc.;

Third, the phase of *analysis*, in which the strategist must determine whether preparation has been adequate for more direct forms of action and what forms of action will be most appropriate to the given situation;

Fourth, the phase of *direct intervention*, in which direct changes are effected in social patterns; and

Fifth, the phase of *consolidation*, in which measures are taken to guarantee the permanence of the changes made by direct intervention.

While these phases may overlap, and while they must be repeated at different stages in the progression toward desegregation, they may provide helpful tools in the planning of strategy. Further, they may add emphasis to a cardinal point to be gained from a summary of the findings of the social sciences on strategy: namely, that many lines of strategy must interact and support each other to effect lasting social change.



Chapter Four

A Strategy for the Ministry and the Local Church Level

In the preceding chapter a variety of strategic possibilities for the removal of segregation were discussed and evaluated, and it was noted that the social sciences emphasize the value of a variety of mutually supportive types of strategy. The purpose of the present chapter is to apply these findings, subject to the ethical qualifications discussed in Chapter Two, to the problem of desegregating the local church in Methodism.

1. THE STRATEGIC ROLE AND RESOURCES OF THE MINISTER

A careful analysis of the local church in Methodism reveals unmistakably that the key point of access to most of the strategies discussed in Chapter Three is to be found in the role of the minister. In terms of the various strategic approaches designated broadly as "preparation," it may be pointed out that the minister's role as educator and preacher is well-established historically and constitutionally.¹ He is expected to deliver a twenty or thirty minute sermon to the congregation each Sunday, the content of which is almost entirely left to his discretion. He has large discretion in the organizing of special services and educational activities, and he is expected to promote and distribute educational literature. His role as a teacher and organizer of education for the children, youth, and adults of the church is well-defined and accepted. He is expected to assume responsibility for the moral growth of his congregation, and he is given ample means and opportunity to fulfill this responsibility.

In terms of "direct intervention," it may be pointed out that the minister is also vested with more direct institutional power than is any lay member in the local church. He alone determines whether or not persons qualify to be enrolled as members in the church.² Thus, in terms of church membership he functions as the "gatekeeper." He is an ex-officio member of almost all of the boards, commissions, and committees which transact the affairs of the church.³ In addition to this he is chairman of the Committee

on Nominations and exercises a decisive, though not absolute, influence in the selection of church officers.

The minister, finally, is also in a strategic position with respect to "consolidation." In his preaching and pastoral roles, the minister would appear uniquely fitted to interpreting changes and helping people to adjust to the changes which have been made.

Strategically, the ministerial role is important for a different kind of reason. There is much evidence to support the belief that, taken as a group, ministers have been much more heavily committed personally to the goal of desegregation than have their parishioners or society at large.⁴ This suggests that ministers may on the whole be the ones who are actually most ready to work for this goal within the local church.

The ministerial role in The Methodist Church is regarded as being so strategically important that the orientation of this chapter will primarily be centered around it.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF A STRATEGIC PROGRAM

In the development of a strategy for racial desegregation in the local church, the minister may rely heavily upon the resources of the social sciences and of ethical analysis suggested in Chapters Two and Three above. It is important to recognize, of course, that every church also has unique aspects requiring creative local approaches.

As a matter of convenience, it may prove helpful to think of the development of strategy in terms of the five phases of strategy discussed in the conclusion of Chapter Four, although these phases should be considered to be largely arbitrary. While there is no basis here for regarding these phases as chronologically discrete "steps" which must be taken strictly in turn, they may, indeed, provide a basis for careful chronological planning.

i. The Role Validation of the Minister

The fact that the minister's potential role in the desegregation of the local church is strategically crucial does not necessarily mean that he will be able to

¹ *Discipline, 1956*, par. 352, pp. 127ff.

² *Ibid.*, pars. 107, 109-111, pp. 39-40.

³ *Ibid.*, pars. 206-278, pp. 84-108.

⁴ See Weldon James, "The South's Own Civil War," *With All Deliberate Speed* . . . ; Campbell and Pettigrew, pp. 1ff.; Culver, p. 149; Ralph McGill, "The Agony of the Southern Minister," *The New York Times Magazine* (September 27, 1959), pp. 16, 57, 59, 60.

use his position with freedom in that way. He may find that the role expectations built into his various "reference systems" inhibit his functioning as a change agent in the area of race relations and require special validation of this kind of role. For example, in their analysis of the behavior of ministers during the Little Rock crisis, Campbell and Pettigrew discovered important inhibiting factors in each of the ministers' three principal reference systems.⁵ The "membership reference system" (which consists of the minister's congregation) rejected the minister's assumption of an action role in the racial crisis both because it (the congregation) was more conservative than he on the particular issue and because it did not regard any active stance on the issue as *appropriate* for a minister, and its opposition to his assumption of an active role was generally made very clear. The "professional reference system" (consisting of the minister's identification with "national and regional church bodies, the local ecclesiastical hierarchy [if any], the local ministerial association, personal contacts and friendships with fellow ministers, and an image of 'my church' in an abstract sense") generally "expected" a liberal position from the minister. But it did not basically challenge the conservatism of the membership reference system because it encouraged the minister to measure his professional *competence* on the basis of his ability to maintain harmony within his congregation and his success in such things as gaining new members and raising funds, not on the basis of his success as a social change agent. The "self reference system" (defined as "the demands, expectations, and images the actor carries regarding himself")⁶ supported liberal beliefs. But the ministers assumed generally that their activity on the social issue should be within the framework of "maintaining communication" with all the people, stressing "education" and "spiritual growth" rather than taking risks for the sake of clear expressions of social concern. Thus, the three reference systems were found to reinforce the mutual expectations of lay people and ministers that the ministerial role would be *passive* with respect to the racial problem, particularly when an active role might threaten the unity and harmony of the church. What is suggested here is that the minister will not be able to use his role strategically to any great extent until there is some expectation in his main relevant reference systems that he should give some priority to effecting change in race relations.

The Campbell and Pettigrew analysis may suggest three levels on which a minister could act to secure more flexibility for himself in the role of social change agent.

First, in terms of his "self reference system," the

minister must free himself psychologically from the threat of failure and loss of status. This may suggest a reorientation of value priorities in a disciplined inner life.

Secondly, in terms of his "membership reference system," the minister must condition his congregation to expect him to function as a social critic and change agent in addition to his other roles. The experience of some ministers suggests that this can be done by including social criticism (relating to a variety of social concerns) as a frequent part of the preaching schedule, by careful interpretations of the place and value of a "free pulpit" as an important Methodist tradition, and by relating social concerns to their sources in Biblical and denominational tradition, thereby showing that social concern is a fundamental element in Christianity—not merely the minister's own idea.⁷ Thus trained, whether or not his people like what is said and done with respect to particular issues, they will at least not be surprised by their minister's assuming an active role.

Thirdly, in terms of the "professional reference system," there is much to be said for the mutual strengthening of united ministerial action to establish more clearly the basic posture of the ministry toward segregation. Where this is done cooperatively individual ministers are not nearly so vulnerable to personal attack and a broader foundation of support is laid for ministerial assumption of the roles of critic and change agent. Despite the presence of bitter resistance from segregationists and a generally hostile social atmosphere, the ministers of several southern cities have succeeded in greatly strengthening the freedom of the pulpit and general role flexibility for themselves by joining together in well-publicized joint statements.⁸ Where over three hundred ministers sign one of these "manifestoes," as in Atlanta in 1958, the individual minister may feel much more flexible in an active role. Such open proclamations of ministerial unity and the quieter discussion groups of ministers seeking to strengthen each other's commitments to work hard for desegregation in the presence of much opposition and tension can hardly be over-emphasized as important means of utilizing the professional reference system for support. The further suggestion, emerging from Campbell and Pettigrew's analysis, that different ministers may have different roles to play in terms of a large scale strategy will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Careful attention to these points may enable a minister to secure for himself a flexible role as change agent and social critic and help to prepare his people to expect real leadership from him in the area of race relations.

⁷ See the excellent suggestions along this line in Harold A. Bosley, *Preaching on Controversial Issues* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), pp. 15-26; and Daniel C. Whitsett, "A Deep South Pastor Looks at Segregation," *The New Christian Advocate*, 2 (February, 1958), 8-11.

⁸ McGill, p. 16.

⁵ Campbell and Pettigrew, pp. 85-95.

⁶ Many ministers would want to refer to this as their belief concerning the expectation of God from them.

ii. The Phase of Preparation for Desegregation

The objective of the phase of "preparation" is basically to change the attitudes and beliefs which support segregation. It is indirect strategy in the sense that it does not include attempts to effect direct changes in the patterns of segregation themselves. The need for preparation is doubtless variable. Conceivably, in some situations specific education would be out of place because of the advanced attitudes of the people and might detract from the naturalness of direct intervention. In other areas, notably, of course, the "Deep South," direct intervention in racial patterns without due prior attention to the modification of prejudiced attitudes would probably court disaster. The points must be emphasized, however, that (a) every minister, even in the most tense areas, can be doing *something* by way of preparation (the "law of the best possible") and (b) preparation must continually look toward desegregation itself as its objective.

The suggestions which follow are not intended to be a substitute for creative ingenuity on the part of the thousands of experienced Methodist ministers but to suggest broad and strategic lines of direction.

(1) *Preaching.*—It has already been noted that the minister has the opportunity of preparing and delivering at least one twenty or thirty minute sermon a week to his congregation. Assuming that he has given proper attention to the need to "validate" his role as preacher in this controversial area, this could be a most important opportunity to modify the attitudes and beliefs of his congregation.

Campbell and Pettigrew, in their analysis of the opportunities of the ministry in the South, make two points which seem especially relevant here.⁹ They note, first, that "ministers are in a unique position to attack one of the weakest links in segregationist armor—guilt over past treatment of the Negro," and secondly, that ministerial actions "are important as publicized disruptions in what otherwise might appear to be complete southern unanimity on integration."¹⁰ These points merit further strategic examination.

In appealing to the segregationist's sense of guilt, the minister may hope to weaken the conviction with which he supports segregation. The segregationist would like to be able to forget the contradiction between his professed ideals as a Christian and the realities of segregation as arrogant pride and inter-group hatred. Like most people, he is skilled in compartmentalizing, rationalizing, and generally blurring the sharp moral contradictions in his life. Effective preaching can make this difficult. It can bring the contradictions to light. And, although "on a fairly superficial level, specific ministerial protests can be, and are, easily rationalized away by many religious and church-attending southerners," the cumulative

effect of many such expressions is such that "finally the seed of doubt may be planted: 'Perhaps they are right; maybe segregation is against the will of God.'" ¹¹

The disruption of the apparent unanimity on segregation may be an equally important function of preaching in the Deep South. It has been pointed out in Chapter Three that, while people are apt to conform in their beliefs and behavior to unanimous pressure from their reference groups, the disruption of this apparent unanimity by even one other person largely removes this pressure, leaving individuals much freer to consult their own judgment. The importance of this principle to situations in which patently false beliefs are being presented with the force of unanimity should be apparent. In such a situation as the Deep South, with an artificial unanimity of opinion on segregation and many silent dissenters, the minister's single voice from the pulpit announcing the facts about race and the truth about segregation may serve to free many minds from pressure to conform.¹²

By way of more specific guidance in preaching, several observations would appear to follow from the findings of Chapter Three. Where possible, it would seem advisable to avoid any suggestion of personal attack in sermons. It is possible that some extremely prejudiced personalities might interpret *any* opposition to segregation itself as a personal attack, and this kind of defensiveness could scarcely be avoided. But there is little evidence that most people are that defensive. A good preaching approach would seem to be one which, while remaining utterly honest with the facts about race and with the Christian judgment about segregation, nevertheless allows people to surrender their prejudices gracefully and without any connotation of inferiority to the preacher himself. Thus, although his message may contain sharp judgment, the people must be made to feel that their minister still loves them and continues to identify himself with them.¹³

Another suggestion, which is validated generally in the literature, is that in preaching the minister should be especially careful to ground his message in generally accepted sources of authority. By making careful use of the Bible and important denominational and interdenominational pronouncements, by appealing to generally accepted democratic principles of the

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹² The writer has experienced the dynamics of this possibility in preaching at first hand. During the first month or so of a pastoral experience in Georgia he refrained completely from bringing race relations into the pulpit. In all of his pastoral contacts during this period he observed that the people of the church either voluntarily expressed segregationist sentiments or said nothing at all about race relations. During this period he was led to believe that segregationist sentiment was virtually unanimous in the church. In the second month, however, he purposely revealed his own stand on race relations and indicated from the pulpit that there is no support for segregation in the Bible. After this a number of people voluntarily spoke of their own leanings toward the integrationist position and showed an open desire to have the writer counsel with them on race relations.

¹³ Cf. similar guidance in Waldo Beach, "Racial Crisis and the Prophet's Task," *The New Christian Advocate*, 1 (August, 1957), 29; and Whitsett, *The New Christian Advocate*, 2 (Feb., 1958), 10-11.

⁹ Campbell and Pettigrew, pp. 4-11.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

"American Creed," and by appealing judiciously to the authority of facts themselves, he will find himself standing on firmer ground than he would if his message could readily be dismissed as subjective opinion.

On a somewhat deeper level, it has been suggested that the minister needs to understand and communicate a full understanding of the religious significance of prejudice. It may be found that the problem of prejudice lies at the very heart of a minister's total task in seeking to guide his people toward religious maturity. For example, one well-received recent book has sought to relate racial prejudice to its roots in pride and self-centeredness: "prejudice, put theologically, is one of man's several neurotic and perverted expressions of his will to be God."¹⁴ Another minister's similar reflections are quoted by McGill:

it had never occurred to me that for so many people the church was the building, the meeting with old friends, the association in the women's organizations, and that Christ meant little, if anything. But it is true. There is a great gulf between what some mean when they say they love the church and what another means for whom Christ has validity. It saddens me to learn how many persons do not want Christ to intrude on them, and indeed will not permit it, if He makes them uncomfortable.¹⁵

It would thus seem that one of the most important tasks of preaching would be to stress continually the realities which transcend familiar institutional and cultural comfort, and that such preaching might have cumulative "transfer" value in terms of the specific problem of desegregation in the church. This is not to imply, of course, that there should not also be very direct confrontation with specific issues occasionally.

The importance of breaking down stereotypes would suggest to many ministers the value of stories and biographies in preaching which invite the listener to identify himself with the feelings, hopes, disappointments, etc., of minority group persons. Since the essence of stereotypy is the denial of human personality in one's view of a minority group member, a story involving a minority group person as an identifiable personality in effect is a denial of the stereotyped prejudice.

Finally, it must be remarked that, in the planning of his preaching schedule, the minister should avoid preaching on race relations alone or to the exclusion of other important concerns. It may be added also that most of the foregoing observations on preaching could be made creatively relevant to the minister's leadership of worship in its non-preaching aspects. Particularly would this seem true of the "pastoral prayer" and guided periods of "silent prayer."

(2) *Educational Leadership in the Church*.—As the one most responsible for the various educational pro-

grams of the church, the minister again has opportunity to lead in preparing his people for desegregation. By devoting particular attention, in a pastoral sense, to the growing maturity of the church school teachers in this regard he may indirectly multiply his own efforts. His quiet insistence upon the use of Methodist church school literature may help to assure that the Methodist position on race relations will not be completely overlooked in church school classes. Our analysis would lead to a belief that church school literature by itself could play but a modest role in the educational process, but it may occasionally also function as the break in unanimity discussed earlier in connection with preaching. Special organizations within the church, such as the Woman's Society for Christian Service, the Methodist Youth Fellowship, Methodist Men, etc., also provide excellent opportunities for cultivation of attitudes and beliefs. As pastor of a church, the minister is often called upon to provide counsel and resources for the educational programs of such organizations—an opportunity which should not be overlooked.

The importance of interracial contact under specified conditions was discussed in Chapter Three. It should be noted here that the minister generally has wide latitude in structuring stereotype-breaking interracial contact experiences for his people. Frequently, for example, he has the opportunity of encouraging leaders in the church to attend interracial conferences. As a counselor of youth and women's groups he can suggest "exchange" visits and other forms of communication with similar groups in Negro churches, making sure, of course, that cultural differences will not undermine the value of the experience and that they will not be focused merely on race relations problems—to the embarrassment of everyone. He can occasionally provide speaking opportunities within his own church for Negro ministers and others who could be counted upon to help break down racial stereotypes. Creative ministerial leadership could find many such opportunities to structure contact experiences, even in areas where segregation is relatively firmly entrenched. The conditions for valuable contact experiences discussed in Chapter Three would, of course, generally apply here and should be considered thoughtfully in the planning of such experiences.

(3) *Educational Activities with "Transfer Value."*—Certain activities in the local church program, while not directly focused upon the problem of segregation, could have significant "transfer value" in terms of attitudes on that issue. It has been pointed out, for example, that involving members of a local church in actively seeking to advance other minority group interests—such as in the areas of housing, political affairs, or employment—is apt to create more sympathy and personal understanding as well as to cultivate active personal commitment. This possibility, incidentally, is of such importance that the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of The Na-

¹⁴ Kyle Haselden, *The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 85.

¹⁵ McGill, p. 59.

tional Council of Churches is currently placing its primary focus upon involving local churches in action to provide dispersed housing opportunities for Negroes.¹⁶

It is undoubtedly true, at this point, that the minister would be well-advised to make use of the optional Commission on Christian Social Relations as a means of cultivating a group of church members with advanced ideas and deeper commitment to Christian witness in areas of social concern. The presence in a church of a group of members prepared to deal with controversial issues of many kinds from the Christian perspective could scarcely help being of value in preparing the church for racial desegregation.¹⁷

(4) *The Preparation of a Climate of Acceptance.*—Most of the discussion of preparing the local church for desegregation thus far has, with good reason, been based on the assumption that the most urgent problem is to prepare the dominant group rather than members of the minority group. It should not be overlooked, however, that the actual experiences of many churches which have been able successfully to become desegregated indicates that many Negroes are themselves not willing to come into a church fellowship where they will not receive a warm welcome. On the basis of his study of 405 racially inclusive churches, Kramer warned against the social "climate" of "pseudo-acceptance" which produces a "front-room type of racial inclusion." A basically lukewarm climate is, he suggests, "as devastating, if not more so, to the process of racial inclusion, than outright rejection accompanied by consistent behavior among those opposed."¹⁸ Bishop Edgar A. Love, of the Baltimore Area (Central Jurisdiction), movingly expressed the importance of a warm welcome for minority group persons at one of the recent Interracial Leadership Conferences:

we are very sensitive persons. If you had been hurt as often as we have been hurt you could understand why we're so sensitive. We're not so sure about the welcome. . . . When people tell you that you are welcome, it is often said in a somewhat condescending way.¹⁹

Thus, an important part of preparing for desegregation would seem to be the preparation of individuals and groups within the church to welcome all newcomers, including minority group persons.

All of the foregoing points may prove strategically useful in preparing the local church for desegregation, although, again, the phase of preparation is not to be confused with desegregation itself.

iii. The Phase of Analysis

Analysis is the strategic phase during which the change agent assesses whether preparation has been adequate for more direct forms of action and what forms of action will be most appropriate to the given situation. It would be expected that analysis, thus defined, would occur continuously in the ministry of one whose goal was desegregation so that he would not be unprepared for opportunities to shift from an educational to an action orientation.

Analysis during the early stages of a pastorate may reveal that preparation in the sense of conscious efforts to change attitudes and beliefs may be unnecessary or even unwise. The experiences of many churches would suggest that this is true at the present time in large areas of the country. Thus, on the basis of his study, Kramer reported that, although

it has been usually thought that to bring together persons of different racial groups in Christian fellowship in a Protestant church would require a good deal of time and preparation—a long period of education or re-education, this has not always been the case as seen in the data. There were ministers who, given certain conditions, negotiated the initial phases of racial inclusion without any period of long-range preparation.²⁰

He pointed out that "time and opportunity for the preparation of parishioners for a change in the racial composition of their group is not necessarily related to the degree of ease with which the change is effected."²¹ It is indeed conceivable that in many situations educational efforts which seem tacitly to assume the presence of prejudiced attitudes and beliefs might strengthen such beliefs through the subtle dynamics of reference expectation and through detracting from the assumption of the naturalness of an inclusive church. Further, in such situations, "long range programs of re-education have been found to facilitate the formation of opposition into more tightly knit groups than were formed when the process moved more forthrightly and directly toward its goal."²²

On the other hand, the latent support for segregation in many situations is undoubtedly such that attitudes and beliefs must be modified before changes in patterns may be initiated. On the basis of the findings of the social sciences reported in Chapter Three, it would seem that this might obtain in situations (a) where prejudice may be linked to sources of widespread frustration, (b) where there is considerable anxiety over impending changes and other uncertain-

¹⁶ Interview with Dr. Alfred S. Kramer, Associate Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of The National Council of Churches, July, 1959, New York, N. Y. Dr. Kramer also pointed out with real cogency that residential dispersion in urban communities is a prerequisite for racial integration in the churches. Concentration upon breaking down residential patterns of segregation, especially in non-southern cities, may serve to bring Negroes into the neighborhood who can then be taken into the fellowship of a prepared church.

¹⁷ See Whitsett, *The New Christian Advocate*, 2 (Feb., 1958), 11.

¹⁸ Alfred S. Kramer, "Patterns of Racial Inclusion Among Selected Congregations of Three Protestant Denominations: An Analysis of the Processes Through Which Congregations of Protestant Denominations Have Included Persons of Racial and Cultural Minority Groups" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1955), p. 239.

¹⁹ The Methodist Church, . . . *Interracial Conference Report*, Baltimore, Md., Dec. 3-4, 1956, p. 158.

²⁰ Kramer, p. 254.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 255. (Emphasis his.)

²² *Ibid.*

ties, (c) where cultural patterns defining Negroes as inferior are widely and uncritically accepted, and (d) where there is widespread and severe competition between racial groups over housing, employment, etc. It scarcely requires mention that any or all of these conditions could be misread to provide a rationalization for inaction. Yet real factors of resistance must be taken seriously.

In predicting the consequences of proposed direct actions to change social patterns of segregation, considerable guidance may be had from the social sciences and from the recorded experiences of churches which have become desegregated. It has been pointed out that the consequences of direct action are generally less dire than predicted. Kramer notes that "the behavior *predicted* by Christians of themselves is far more serious and opposed to racial inclusion than their *actual* behavior, when faced with a real situation in their churches."²³ In his study of 405 desegregated churches he was able to discover only twenty-six persons who had permanently withdrawn from their respective churches because of desegregation.²⁴ More severe results have been reported, of course. One Congregational pastor, for example, has reported that after the desegregation of his church "we lost heavily from the core of our officer group and we are still far from experiencing a great influx of convinced and committed people."²⁵

The choice between the predictable consequences of direct intervention and the predictable consequences of continued passivity with respect to segregation suggests that the phase of analysis must also include *ethical* analysis. The ethical principles discussed in Chapter Two would suggest to the present writer that a desegregated church fellowship is much to be preferred ethically to a segregated one where the difference involves only the loss of a few members and some financial support. Application of the "Axiological Law" to this problem would seem to suggest that a segregated church, by proclaiming in practice a principle contradictory to its declared Christian faith, is internally self-contradictory. Application of the "Law of Ideal Control" suggests that the moral and spiritual superiority of an integrated church is to be preferred despite material losses. This conclusion, incidentally, was reached by the Congregational minister referred to immediately above who also reported that, despite the losses incurred through desegregation,

the group that remains is disciplined and dedicated beyond anything I have seen in any church. Members who have been out of the country for a time testify to clear changes for the better in the spiritual life of the church.²⁶

These ethical conclusions would appear to hold, generally, up to the point where losses of membership and financial support are so great as to imply the destruction of the church fellowship.

The choice of *means* to be used in direct intervention suggests a further area for ethical analysis. It could be assumed that the means utilized ought to avoid contradiction of a fully Christian fellowship and disrespect for the intrinsic worth of human personality. It is not unusual to hear or read that any attempt to "force integration" (or desegregation) is a violation of these norms.

In response to this it could be argued that nobody is "forced" to belong to The Methodist Church but that so long as one is a member he gives tacit assent to the church's Constitution, which nowhere defines membership or participation in the church on the basis of race. Democratic procedures are available for amendment of the Constitution. But in the absence of constitutional sanction, the racial composition of the membership of a local church is not the kind of issue upon which consent or consensus by members of the local church must appropriately be obtained. It would seem more a recognition of the intrinsic worth of personality to treat the members of a local church as responsible adults who accept with integrity the full implications of their church membership than to treat them as persons whose prejudices must be pampered. Also, of course, the findings of Chapter Three have indicated that people sometimes have to be led against their initial inclinations into experiences of which their consciences approve and which are necessary for their growth and maturation as personalities (and as Christians).

In addition to these points it could be said that segregation itself shows the greatest disrespect for the personalities of those who are, by it, excluded from the fellowship of a local church solely on the basis of race. Besides the implied stigma of inferiority, such segregation deprives Negroes of significant opportunities and experiences. A truly objective ethical appraisal would have to include respect for the personalities of those least able to protect themselves!

The phase of analysis would include, finally, the identification and active enlistment of support for projected actions to alter existing patterns of segregation. Any proposed action would be strengthened by the support of sympathetic members of the church who are aware of what is likely to occur. If there is *no* such potential support, it is probable that there needs to be more preparation, although such a church would be difficult to imagine in most areas of the country. It may be suggested that the enlistment of such support will be most successful where it is on a person-to-person basis, thus avoiding the risk of early solidification of opposition.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

²⁵ Allan Hackett, "Let Us Worship Him Together," *Social Action*, 25 (January, 1959), 14.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

iv. The Phase of Active Intervention

The objective of the strategic phase of active intervention would be the direct desegregation of the church fellowship. It has been pointed out already that the minister occupies a key position within the church with respect to the composition of the membership and the officary. Assuming that he will not encounter overwhelming opposition, there are several ways in which he should be able to achieve desegregation.

There is first the matter of church membership itself. He alone is the legal judge of whether applicants for membership shall be received. He can receive persons of all races into his church without question, assuming, as it were, that his people would of course expect him to fulfill his duty in this regard as provided in the *Discipline*. Persons opposing such a move would be placed in the position of confronting a legal *fait accompli*. Since there is no guarantee that minority group members will present themselves for membership in the church at the strategic time, there is no reason why the minister could not assume the initiative in calling upon Negroes within the neighborhood and guaranteeing that they will feel a warm welcome. In doing this, of course, he should enlist the support of lay persons who are willing to make a special point of supplying this welcome. Many newcomers of another race could survive a great deal of coldness from certain members of the congregation so long as there were a few whose offer of friendship were genuine and warm.

Similarly, the minister can use his position with effectiveness in drawing minority group persons into the life of the church as active participants. As has already been pointed out, the Methodist minister is in a strong position as chairman of the nominating committee to guarantee that minority group persons are at least considered for church offices and membership on official boards and commissions. In doing so, he does not have to bring up the race issue at all. Persons in opposition to such moves on racial grounds are placed in the difficult position of having to advertise their prejudices.

The specific point at which active intervention occurs may well vary strategically. In some churches it may be at the point of Negro membership. In others, the desegregation of the officary of the church, so that Negroes who are already members of the church can be full participants. It has been found in some instances that initial penetrations of Negroes into the life of a local church may best be achieved by way of the Church School.²⁷ In other instances initial penetrations in patterns of segregation have been made

through the scheduling of specifically interracial services at special times—a move which hardly represents full desegregation but may be a significant break with prevailing custom.²⁸ Other ministers have effected substantial gains by hiring staff personnel (such as youth directors, directors of religious education, and associate ministers) from the minority group.²⁹ While the minister may not have complete freedom in the hiring of such personnel he would normally have considerable influence, certainly to the point of suggesting specific persons of the minority group and the presentation of their qualifications without calling attention to the racial aspect. Since so much of the adverse response to such moves is based on unthinking reiteration of cultural stereotypes it would seem that the hiring of a Negro staff person could well be preceded by the local minister's giving his committee an opportunity to become acquainted with a competent Negro candidate as a person in advance of any decisions.

The foregoing illustrations suggest some of the possibilities for ministerial initiative in effecting direct changes. It should be noted that occasionally the minister may be placed in the position of having to react to changes initiated by others.³⁰ Where this occurs it may indicate that the minister has been too slow in initiating contact himself, or simply that a minority group person has decided to "test" the response of the white congregation. In any event, it would seem that the minister would be well-advised to react in such a way that the Methodist and Christian position is reaffirmed, or at least not denied or weakened, by the episode.³¹

In general, as has been seen in connection with the discussion of active intervention in Chapter Three, actions of direct intervention will be most effective where they are taken quickly, clearly, and decisively, and where they assume compliance and involve steadfast refusal to retreat from the denominational po-

²⁸ See Whitsett, *The New Christian Advocate*, 2 (Feb., 1958), 11.

²⁹ The General Secretary of the Board of Social and Economic Relations of The Methodist Church has reported the employment of a Negro Director of Religious Education by a minister serving a church in a community which "prided itself that no Negro ever stayed in that town overnight." The move was so successful that "all of a sudden the town awakened to the fact that the Revolution had taken place." *The Methodist Church, . . . , Interracial Conference Report, Baltimore, Md., Dec. 3-4, 1956*, p. 161.

³⁰ About half of the initial contacts involved in the inclusive churches studied by Kramer were reported to have been initiated by Negroes themselves. Kramer, pp. 148-149.

³¹ A Methodist minister in Atlanta, Georgia, was recently faced by such a problem. In the middle of his morning service one Sunday a young Negro woman walked in and seated herself. A couple of the laymen immediately began to tell her she must leave. The pastor, however, broke in by saying, "let me interrupt you so I might remind all of us that this is God's house, and everyone is welcome to worship here." Later in the service two white girls welcomed the Negro at the altar rail for communion. Most of the "repercussions" following the service were, according to the pastor, "surprisingly . . . good." After the incident he reported that "what all this has said to me is that the folks are more Christian and more liberal than I gave them credit for before the incident. The church is stronger today and the people are more Christian in our attitude toward race because it happened to us." Reported by John Wicklein, "Atlanta Leading in Negroes' Gains," *The New York Times*, 108 (July 6, 1959), 1, 14.

²⁷ This was done in the case of St. James Methodist Church in Chicago, an inclusive church which has received considerable publicity throughout the denomination. See *The Methodist Church, . . . , Interracial Conference Report, Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec. 6-7, 1957*, pp. 43-48.

sition and the *fait accompli*.³² Normally such actions should not involve attempts to arrive at a favorable consensus by the congregation or official board through "voting" in advance of any clearly legitimate moves of direct intervention. A Congregationalist has written to the contrary that "the endeavor to reach consensus affords an opportunity for growth in Christian grace and understanding, if it is carefully planned, in the context of Biblical and theological truth."³³ But, although this may sometimes apply even to Methodists, it should be pointed out that approval by the congregation or a committee of laymen is frequently *required* in the admission of new members to a Congregational Church. The Rev. Jerry Walker reported favorable results in the desegregation of St. James Methodist Church of Chicago when he submitted the names of prospective Negro members to his Official Board prior to taking action on them.³⁴ Possibly his action resulted in a more favorable climate of acceptance for the change than would have been the case if he had simply received the new members, although it is interesting to speculate on what he could have done had the Board ruled adversely. It is possible that his action in going to the Board might be interpreted as an appeal for *acceptance* of a proposed action rather than an appeal for *permission*.³⁵ Occasionally an open appeal for support might be wise. In any event, however, it would appear that an appeal for *permission* is inappropriate procedure in a Methodist church and generally unwise from a strategic point of view.

v. The Phase of Consolidation

Consolidation includes all efforts taken to insure the permanence and stability of changes made by direct intervention in institutional patterns after these changes have been made. It would be the objective of consolidation, for example, to try to guarantee that the desegregation of a local church is not greatly divisive of the unity of the church nor disruptive of its normal program. It would also seek to guarantee that the break in segregated patterns is not treated as an "exception" to the normal patterns but as a decisively new pattern.

If, as the analyses of Chapter Three would lead one to believe, most of the members of the church might be expected to conform to the new pattern, it is apparent that disruption could be anticipated primarily from those few who are most deeply prejudiced or

who, in other ways, may feel threatened by new patterns. Although he would be advised not to waver on the issue itself, a minister may often find himself in a position to counsel with the more deeply opposed persons. They should be allowed to "blow off steam" without being condemned by the minister. Indeed, he should be careful to avoid giving the appearance of personal attack at all. During the period following the change, the minister might be well-advised to make a general rule of staying as close as possible to the potential opposition, always looking for ways of diverting hostility away from the issue itself and seeking to give psychological support and reassurance.

In general, it would appear wise for the minister to focus his efforts upon emphasizing the normal program and the unity of the church. There is probably real danger in too much *direct* preaching on the subject after an important change has occurred, since this will tend to arouse and harden the resistance of threatened and insecure people. If verbal interpretation is called for, it should always be interpreted as everybody's victory—as indeed it would be. Further, when the action does not yet mean complete desegregation (as, for example, the inclusion of a few Negro youngsters in the Church School for the first time would not mean complete desegregation) the consolidation process should never imply that it does. It would be important for the minister to avoid the implication that a limited step toward desegregation will be allowed to serve a "ritual" function so that all consciences may slumber peacefully.

It may be recalled again that the five phases of strategic planning, which have now been discussed, have not been intended as a substitute for creative ministerial leadership, but rather as indications of strategic directions which such leadership can take.

3. LAY INITIATIVE

The discussion of this chapter thus far has focused around the assumption that the minister of a Methodist church normally is the most strategic single person through whom advance toward desegregation could be expected to find leadership. This does not, of course, imply any lack of regard for the taking of initiative by lay members of the church.³⁶ Laymen may sometimes find themselves considerably more advanced in their thinking than their pastors or consid-

³² These points are stressed frequently in Kramer's study, indicating that Protestant religious institutions have much in common with other social institutions in this regard. On the basis of this study, Kramer also warns against the minister's engaging "in any subtleties in which he settles with the opposition for a 'front-room' type of racial inclusion." Kramer, pp. 260-261.

³³ Galen R. Weaver, "Racial Practices in Congregational Christian Churches," *Social Action*, 25 (Jan., 1959), 9.

³⁴ The Methodist Church, . . . , *Interracial Conference Report*, Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec. 6-7, 1957, pp. 43-48.

³⁵ In which case he might, in effect, be echoing the words of St. Paul, "though I am bold enough in Christ to command you to do what is required, yet for love's sake I prefer to appeal to you." Philemon, 8-9 (Revised Standard Version).

³⁶ Although this strategic emphasis upon the ministry of the local church can be defended in relation to the specific problem of desegregation within the local church, it should be stressed here that such an emphasis could *not* be defended with equal force if the strategic problem were outside the church itself. In applying itself strategically to the social problems in the wider community and society of which it is a part, there could be little question of the fact that the church must recognize the equal if not greater importance of the role of lay church members, for lay Christians generally have a more direct involvement in the specific economic and social institutions outside the church and are, of course, much more numerous than ministers. Thus, to illustrate, the planning of strategy by the church to support desegregation in the public schools would need to take a much more thorough account of the strategic potentialities of lay Christians functioning within the community.

erably more courageous in translating ideals into action.

There is doubtless no limit to the creative ways in which lay persons, including youth and women, can exert leadership toward the goal of an inclusive church.³⁷ In communities in the Deep South where social controls have produced the illusion of a unanimously segregationist front within the church a courageous lay person can also function as the catalyst who announces that segregation is based upon error and unchristian valuations. In less harassing situations he can give genuine support and encouragement to his pastor, he can invite and welcome Negro newcomers into the church and help to involve them in active participation, he can lead out in the Commission on Christian Social Relations or the Commission on Membership and Evangelism, always encouraging the church as a whole to create a warm climate of acceptance. As a church school teacher or youth leader he can do much to prepare others for desegregation. His own activities would, of course, need to be broadly harmonious with the principles discussed in Chapter Three. And, although his role is likely to be somewhat more circumscribed strategically than the pastor's, with respect to this problem, every layman can do *something*.

It should be remembered here, also, that when the discussion of strategy shifts from the local church level to the annual and general conferences, laymen make up half of the membership of these bodies and may thus assert an important legislative role in the church. Informed and concerned laymen, even on the level of the local church, could do much to assure that their representation in these connectional bodies is helping to support desegregation. And, although it is not unusual for laymen to neglect the various opportunities suggested by their representation in the connectional institutions of The Methodist Church, these channels remain available.

4. MERGERS OF LOCAL CHURCHES

In many communities, particularly in urban centers, Negro and white Methodist churches may be found serving virtually the same geographical areas. In such situations the possibility of mergers is suggested as a logical form or outcome of desegregation. This is treated separately from the preceding discussion because of the complexity of such mergers and because they presuppose an advanced degree of preparation by the churches involved. In such a situation the pastor, although he must give leadership, is no longer in the role of "gatekeeper." Mergers generally require explicit consent by the congregations involved and usually that of the involved Annual Conference (s).

³⁷ The reports of the Board of Social and Economic Relations' Interracial Leadership Conferences frequently illustrated the great creativity of lay as well as ministerial delegates in proposing specific steps to be taken.

Several potential problems suggest themselves which may require special attention. First, the Negro church may have important functional significance in the lives of its members and leaders which could not readily find a parallel within the white church. Frazier points out that

because of the exclusion of Negroes from full participation in American life, the segregated church has provided a field in which leaders could obtain social and economic security. Moreover, the separation of the races has placed the Negro minister in a very special relationship to the members of his church.³⁸

Frazier notes also that the Negro church may provide different outlets for emotional release than are necessary in the white church, although this factor may be much less important than it once was or than it would be in denominations other than Methodism. In any event, the functional significance of both churches is an important factor which must be considered and provided for in mergers.

Secondly, the churches may reflect different sociocultural levels as well as different racial patterns. It is highly probable that the Negro Methodists may, on the whole, be less well-educated, have a lower income, and have some differing tastes. The phenomenon of "class church" is altogether too common in America, but where vast differences in terms of age and maturity can be accommodated within a single church fellowship it seems unlikely that sociocultural differences should present an insurmountable obstacle. Nevertheless, these differences must be considered and care must be taken that pride on the one hand and insecurity on the other do not upset merger plans.

Thirdly, there will normally be financial technicalities, such as disposal of property, budget adjustments, and the like to be worked out. The members of the less wealthy of the churches involved in the proposed union should not be made to feel inferior because they are not so affluent. There may be the additional problem of the Negro church's importance as a source of support of the budget of the Central Jurisdiction Annual Conference to which it has belonged. The withdrawal or threat of withdrawal of this support may inhibit mergers.

Fourthly, there is likelihood that leadership competition may emerge. Both churches will likely have a parallel set of officers. In many cases leadership positions may prove difficult for their holders to give up. The problem of an equitable and intelligent distribution of leadership responsibility so that the work of the church does not suffer and all members feel that they have significant and respected responsibility will need to be dealt with.

Several specific suggestions might be in order. With respect to the problem of the importance of the

³⁸ Frazier, "The Negro's Vested Interest in Segregation," . . . , p. 333. Cf. Chapter 18, "Minorities and Religion," in Simpson and Yinger, pp. 574ff., and other discussions of the Negro church.

Negro church as source of support for its Central Jurisdiction Annual Conference's budget, it may be that the merged church will wish to continue contributing to the support of that Annual Conference until it has disappeared under the provisions of Amendment IX.

It has already been suggested that specific provision for problems of leadership should be made, with special care that the minority group is not relegated to insignificant roles. It may be especially important, where possible, that the merged church have pastoral leadership representing both racial groups—at least for a time.³⁹ The presence on the staff of the church of a Negro minister would make it possible for much closer pastoral care for Negro members during the difficult period of adjustment and would probably lessen the number of drop-outs. Since ministerial leadership often assumes important symbolic significance in any church the presence of both a white and a Negro minister would help to symbolize the full unity of the fellowship. Where this is not possible it would seem doubly important that minority group members receive much more than the usual number of pastoral calls and attentions so that they can begin to develop a close relationship and rapport with their new pastor.

Finally, it would seem important to involve all of the members of the merged church in primary groups where new friendships can be formed and where there would be adequate provision for social life and fellowship.

5. SUMMARY

It has been pointed out in this chapter that the strategic role in the local church in the achievement of racial desegregation is that of the pastor. It has been pointed out that his role must be validated by

³⁹ A white church in West Virginia invited a small Negro church to merge with it and to bring its minister along as Associate Pastor. Bishop Love commented that "now that's integration." *The Methodist Church, . . . Interracial Conf. Report, Jamaica, N. Y., 1956*, p. 8.

actions leading members of the church to anticipate that their minister will function as a social critic and change agent. Suggestions of means of validating the role were made. It was pointed out that through application of the principles of education and other forms of preparation to his functions as preacher and educator the minister may help to change the attitudes and beliefs of his people which ultimately support segregation. It was shown that constant analysis is necessary to determine whether successful techniques of direct action may be employed to desegregate the church. It was shown, further, that ethical analysis, both of means and ends, must accompany other analyses, and it was demonstrated that effective direct action techniques may be employed without violation of the ethical presuppositions of this study. The possibilities for the minister's use of direct intervention to change segregated patterns were then discussed, and it was found that the principles of direct intervention discussed in Chapter Three have relevance. The need for consolidation to guarantee the permanence and stability of changes and the well-being of the fellowship was emphasized with suggestions in this area growing out of the discussion of Chapter Three.

The point was emphasized that lay persons may also take initiative in the desegregation process of the church, although the lay role is likely to be more circumscribed.

Finally, problems and suggestions relating to the mergers of Negro and white local churches were discussed, with special emphasis upon the importance of dealing with such problems as sociocultural differentiation, leadership competition, financial technicalities, and the functional character of the Negro church.

Throughout the chapter occasional illustration from studies of successfully desegregated churches has confirmed that the principles discussed in Chapter Three have real validity in the development of strategies for racial desegregation on the local church level.



Chapter Five

A Strategy for the Episcopacy and the Annual Conference Level

In the discussion of strategy on the local church level in the preceding chapter, the assumption was broadly made that the objective and problems of a Methodist local church would not be greatly dissimilar to those of several other large Protestant denominations. The similarity was regarded as sufficient to warrant the use of illustrations of desegregation from the local churches of several other denominations (as those studied by Kramer), although the Methodist minister's constitutional role was discovered to be somewhat unique in strategically significant ways.

Beyond the local church level, however, the connectional policy of The Methodist Church suggests problems and opportunities for strategies for racial desegregation that would have to be considered as unique. In the present context, it will be assumed that most of these problems and opportunities should be judged with respect to their relationship to desegregation on the level of the local Methodist church. This general criterion will govern the selection of connectional institutional structures in The Methodist Church for consideration in this chapter and the next. It should be remembered, however, that fellowship and other activities on the broader levels of connectional Methodism have much significance and that the actual desegregation occurring on these levels has corresponding importance as an end in itself.

The episcopacy and the annual conference are treated together in this chapter because the point of the bishop's most effective power is his relation to the annual conference. In The Methodist Church, the annual conference is the geographical organizational unit¹ with the most direct and substantial effect upon the local church. A bishop is designated as "Resident Bishop" of a particular "area," an area being comprised of the annual conferences over which a bishop presides. Every area includes at least one annual conference, and some include as many as four or five.

1. THE STRATEGIC ROLE OF THE BISHOP

Analysis of the office of bishop in The Methodist Church reveals the episcopacy as an enormous center of institutional power.² It is the bishop who appoints Methodist ministers to their responsibilities each year and, although this power is conditioned by mandatory consultations with local church committees, district superintendents, and the ministers themselves, it remains essentially an absolute power.³ Further, he appoints the district superintendents whose delegated authority is both constitutionally and practically enormous.⁴ As overseer "of the spiritual and temporal affairs of the church"⁵ he has broad latitude for initiative in leadership in his area.

On a somewhat less formal level, one would expect the bishop, as the chief officer of the area, normally to have readiest access to public opinion generally, with the greatest capacity for establishing the popular "image" of The Methodist Church. As the minister with greatest honor and prestige, the bishop would also normally be expected to have much influence within the ministerial "reference system" in establishing a concept of the ministerial role.

The possibilities for the strategic use of the office of bishop are obvious, and will be considered in more detail below. However, it should be pointed out again that much depends upon the expectations concerning the use of the office within the relevant reference systems. It is not unreasonable to expect that the bishop, like the minister, would be required to validate his role as a social critic and change agent in the area of race relations in order for it to be accepted in the reference groups within which he functions.

A part of the validation process for the bishop could be frequent public reminders of the position of The Methodist Church in race relations and of his official responsibility to see that it is implemented.

² See *ibid.*, pars. 431-434, pp. 146-149.

³ *Ibid.*, par. 432, p. 147.

¹ Usually this unit is comparable in size to a state, although many of the states contain two or more annual conferences and some conferences embrace more than a single state. See *Discipline, 1956*, pp. 484-508, for the annual conference boundaries in the United States.

⁴ In many annual conferences the district superintendents prepare most of the ministerial appointments, which are then approved by the bishop. The minister's most immediate working relationship with the hierarchy of the church is normally with the district superintendent.

⁵ *Discipline, 1956*, par. 431 (1.), p. 146.

His willingness to take positions on other controversial issues which he considers important would help to establish that a bishop may normally function in controversial areas. Perhaps more basic even than this would be the "internal" validation by which he accepts for himself the importance of risking a measure of popularity and institutional success in order to further the normative goal of the church.⁶ The fact that bishops are elected by popular ballot within the jurisdictional conference and have almost invariably been successful ministers may suggest to the realistic observer that the success orientation implied in this process is hardly conducive to acceptance of risk and controversy. A bishop, however, who has rearranged his definition of personal success to include dynamic leadership for goals as important, though controversial, as racial desegregation, will be free psychologically to act at the strategically correct moment and in the correct way.

2. EPISCOPAL SUPPORT OF MINISTERS

Since the major emphasis of strategy in this study is upon desegregation on the local church level, a consideration of effective lines of support for ministerial efforts toward desegregation must here constitute a main line of inquiry. This may well be the point of the bishop's most effective contributions to racial desegregation.

i. Direct Support of Courageous Ministers

Where ministers are actively engaged in the processes described in the preceding chapter, it is probable that there will be opposition developing within the local churches. If the problem of desegregation has been approached strategically it is probable that most of this opposition will not be unmanageable by the local pastor himself within his church. However, occasionally, and in areas where *any* leadership toward desegregation is rewarded by instant and severe opposition, the bishop is likely to find that appeal will be made to him or one of his district superintendents to modify the pastor's behavior. Where such an appeal is successful the opposition will gather strength and the minister will be greatly weakened. Conversely, where the minister is supported in his position he will be greatly strengthened. Prior to their study of the ministry during the Little Rock crisis, Campbell and Pettigrew hypothesized that ministers of an ecclesiastically organized church (such as Methodism) would be more effective in leadership of unpopular causes than would ministers of congregationally organized churches, the differentiating factor being the support given by the church hierarchy. This

⁶ An influential minister in one southern annual conference remarked to the writer that his bishop could have made an enormous contribution to public acceptance of school desegregation in the South had he been willing to risk his great personal popularity for that cause. The process of internal validation, of course, involves ethical commitments over which strategy could have little control.

hypothesis did not ring true because the hierarchies rather seemed to discourage pastors from taking bold stands. For example,

one Little Rock church administrator [not identified as to denomination] told two of his ministers, "It's OK to be liberal, boys, just don't stick your neck out." Indeed, the advice relationship between ecclesiastical officials and (especially) younger ministers was systematically used in Little Rock to dampen a minister's enthusiasm for purposive action by urging him to "go slow" and by reminding him of the prospects of permanent damage to the work of the church through what could appear to be rash action.⁷

Reflecting upon this finding, these investigators remark that

we continue to believe that the ecclesiastical form by its nature offers a potential for effective ministerial leadership in unpopular causes and crisis situations which the congregational form does not offer. However, it is not inconceivable that reality more frequently than not may be the opposite of this potential. That is to say, it seems very possible that a church hierarchy will function to reduce rather than increase the likelihood that a ministry will take stands counter to those preferred by their congregations.⁸

The important thing to note, however, is that the bishop *can* support his men when their difficulties stem from seeking to implement the Methodist position in race relations. Such support, which implies complete acceptance of the Methodist position and unwillingness to accommodate to those desiring to depart from it, could scarcely help strengthening the ministry for the kind of strategic role which was outlined in Chapter Four.

ii. Moral Leadership and Influence upon Ministers

Besides backing his men *after* their attempts to implement the official Methodist position have aroused keen opposition, the bishop is in a strategic position to influence his men to *initiate* such attempts strategically. Where he, himself, defines the ministerial role in such a way that leadership in social concerns is regarded on a level of importance comparable with institutional successes, his ministers will tend to accept his definition. One could expect this to be true, in the first place, because he is the official responsible for their professional appointments. Of perhaps deeper significance, however, is the effect which his attitude might be expected to have upon the psychological self-expectations of the ministry. As a minister with considerable prestige, the bishop's conception of the ministerial role could have decisive influence upon the conceptions of his ministers, leading them, with him, to regard their actions in social concern areas as fundamental to their ministries. Similarly, while

⁷ Campbell and Pettigrew, p. 90.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

there seems to be a tendency among ministers to regard the maintenance of "communication" with people and the *leading* of people "step by step" as *ultimates*,⁹ the bishop, by his own attitude toward the ministry, can have great influence by adding to these "working propositions" that the maintenance of communication is not as ultimate as effective witness to religious and moral truth.¹⁰

A final observation could be made in this general vein. The Methodist annual conference is constituted in such a way that it can either be a highly competitive social group, with ministers competing with one another to secure appointments more replete with the scarce values of power, prestige, and economic gain, or it can be a cooperative "team-work" affair. Where the first condition obtains one could expect to find more anxiety and less inclination on the part of the ministers to risk the scarce values by taking controversial stands. Where the second condition obtains one could expect to find much more emphasis upon mutual support in pursuit of the universal values of the ministry and of the church. While the difference between these two states of morale must rest with intangibles, it would seem reasonable that a bishop, as the moral and spiritual leader of the annual conference, could do much to set the tone.

3. EPISCOPAL LEADERSHIP AND WITNESS IN THE AREA

In addition to his supportive roles with respect to the ministers of his area, a bishop is in a unique position to exert other forms of leadership in race relations. He has, for example, an important opportunity to help shape public opinion throughout his area. This opportunity is noted by one authority on Methodist polity who comments that

it is not commonly appreciated that the bishops are the natural spokesmen and leaders of the church at other times than when the General Conference is meeting. In the former Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the College of Bishops was frankly entrusted with the duty of making pronouncements upon "great social questions of national and international importance," and other groups and bodies were discouraged if not forbidden to give out statements in the name of the church.¹¹

⁹ See *ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

¹⁰ The writer had an interesting interview with one southern bishop who, while regarding the complete racial integration of the church "as the Body of Christ" as an eventual imperative, nevertheless insisted that the ministers should always use the "pastoral" approach of "leading" the people and maintaining communication. It could be regarded as significant that he was unable, upon being questioned, even to conceive of the possibility of a crisis in which a minister would only be able to maintain communication with some people by completely compromising his moral leadership. This bishop's attitude, it may be added, has had an observably inhibiting effect upon the leadership of his men on controversial issues—including race relations. To this discussion of "communication" it should be added, of course, that communication is not really maintained at all where the minister is under pressure to remain silent concerning some of his dearest convictions.

¹¹ Nolan B. Harmon, *The Organization of The Methodist Church: Historic Development and Present Working Structure* (Nashville, etc.: The Methodist Publishing House, 1953 [1948]), p. 91 (2d ed. rev.).

The coincidence that there is a stronger tradition involving bishops as the spokesmen of the church in that part of the country where there is most need for such leadership in race relations should not be overlooked. The possibility is clearly present for progressive leadership, although it must be admitted that the public statements of Southeastern bishops since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, few as these statements have been, have generally been rather conservative in tone—on at least one occasion taking exception to rather than supporting the official Methodist position in race relations.¹²

A bishop, with his considerable powers and resources, is in a position to undertake direct strategic actions and to establish various kinds of "pilot projects." At least two or three bishops, for example, have been successful in appointing qualified Negro pastors to white or mixed churches. Where such pioneering ventures involve well-qualified men to "break the color line" and careful preparation by the bishop in harmony with the basic realities discussed in Chapter Three above, they suggest a promising field for progress. In some of the more advanced annual conferences, where there are a number of racially inclusive churches and no great reaction against such patterns, a flat episcopal policy—coupled with judicious choice of situations—would probably be sufficient to make the appointment of qualified Negro ministers to white or mixed churches viable.¹³ In such conferences suitably qualified Negro ministers might be chosen as district superintendents as well.

4. SUPPORTIVE ROLE OF THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE AND STRATEGIC COOPERATION BY MINISTERS

Even in episcopal areas where bishops are completely neutral or exert negative influence upon desegregation, the annual conference may be utilized by those of its members who wish to abolish segregation throughout the church. Examination of the annual conference suggests that it may exert a significant supportive influence upon its members. It should be remembered in this connection that the annual conference is an important reference group for its ministerial members. As Harmon expresses it,

the Annual Conference from the first has been the minister's church. His name is on its roll and before its bar he stands for appraisal by his brethren, for blame or praise. At its sessions he gets his assignment for work, and when he is retired it is

¹² See Edwin L. Brock, "Methodism's Growing Cleavage," *Christian Century*, 72 (August 24, 1955), 921.

¹³ According to the General Secretary of the Board of Social and Economic Relations of The Methodist Church, at least one of the annual conferences in Wisconsin has already recorded its willingness to accept pastors, district superintendents, or bishops regardless of race. The Methodist Church, . . . , *Interracial Conference Report*, Pittsburgh, Pa., December 6-7, 1957, pp. 149ff.

upon its roll that his name is kept as an honored superannuate.

The usual preacher enters the conference as a youth and remains in it for life. Its fellowship becomes increasingly dear to him with the passage of time, and as the different conferences develop their own special ways of thought, and those inconsequential but characteristic ways of doing things, which speak of a corporate individuality, the members themselves seem to partake of the same characteristics which enwrap all.¹⁴

In the light of the role of the annual conference as an important reference group for Methodist ministers it should appear evident that any corporate actions of the conference placing it on record with respect to support of racial desegregation in the church would have important intangible effects among its ministers. On a more informal, person to person level, the kind of support which ministers know how to give one another when a brother minister is honorably encountering difficulty within his church might often do much to sustain the more courageous ministers in difficult times.

Conference resolutions, which will be discussed below in a different context, could conceivably function as an aid to ministers in validating their roles as social critics and change agents in almost the same way as the "ministers manifestoes," which were discussed in the preceding chapter. A resolution of support for the Methodist position in race relations and for the free pulpit could have special significance in regions where communications have generally broken down and the freedom of the pulpit is itself highly problematical. They could render the individual minister less vulnerable to attack from segregationist opposition by lending a certain corporate strength to the voices of ministers.

The Campbell and Pettigrew study may suggest a more systematic application of support and cooperation within an annual conference. In analyzing the ministers of Little Rock, these investigators found that there were three discernible types of ministers.¹⁵ The "innovators" were the younger men, serving smaller churches, who displayed most initiative and courage in espousing racial desegregation throughout the crisis. The "influentials" were the somewhat older ministers occupying the large, prominent pulpits or ecclesiastical positions. These men were liberal in their views but cautious in their leadership during the crisis. The third group, the "inactives" were the older ministers, approaching retirement, who took no active position with respect to the controversy. The investigators felt that the total effort of the ministers to bring about a resolution of the racial crisis in harmony with their generally liberal views failed pri-

marily because the "influential" ministers did not support the "innovators" at the crucial moment.¹⁶

Projecting this analysis onto the annual conference, the possibility emerges that effective strategy on that level needs to take the different roles of ministers into account in seeking to advance desegregation. It is probable that the younger ministers in smaller churches will generally have more institutional (and mental) flexibility in their approach to desegregation. The more influential ministers, however, including the pastors of large churches, the district superintendents, and the bishop, while impeded in their roles by greater institutional complexities, may nevertheless be prepared to "run interference" for their younger colleagues by lending their names to resolutions, by public statements of the Christian and Methodist position at crucial moments, and generally by expressing approval of what the younger men are doing. The older ministers could assume a similarly supportive role, although their influence might be less wide.

Within this kind of framework of mutual support and cooperation all of the ministers of an annual conference could be strategically effective.

5. EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The structure of the annual conference is such that it presents a number of channels of strategic importance for the preparation of the Methodists of its territory for desegregation. The more important of these essentially "educational" possibilities will be considered here.

i. Conference Resolutions

One of the most easily accessible educational channels available to an annual conference is the passage of official resolutions and statements. In addition to their significance in terms of support for ministers, such expressions have broader educational meaning. Harmon points out that

conference meetings, programs, and formal actions have great effect upon Methodist people over a wide area, and indeed over the whole region served by a conference. Its program of promotional, educational, social, civic, and spiritual plans and activities is always watched by thousands, with even the secular press keeping advised upon its moves and intent.¹⁷

In one of the Interracial Leadership Conferences a southern minister pointed out that "resolutions which represent the thinking of the ministers and elected delegates from a large number of churches obviously carry more weight than those from a local church."¹⁸

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁷ Harmon, p. 141.

¹⁸ The Methodist Church, . . . , *Interracial Conference Report, Atlanta, Ga., Jan. 28-29, 1957*, p. 54.

¹⁴ Harmon, pp. 128-129.

¹⁵ Campbell and Pettigrew, pp. 63ff.

While resolutions could not be expected to deal effectively with attitudes and beliefs regarding segregation as such, one could expect them to contribute by establishing an "image" of The Methodist Church's position in race relations and by adding to the cumulative pressures within society for desegregation. Their primary "educational" effect would thus be upon those whose attitudes and behavior is determined primarily by their conception of what society expects of them.¹⁹

It does need to be pointed out, however, that resolutions, in the nature of the case, are also well suited to fill the "ritual" function discussed in Chapter Three. It could be easy for the members of an annual conference or other church gathering to pass a strong resolution and then, having salved their consciences about segregation, promptly to forget the whole problem. As *one part* of strategy, resolutions may serve valuable functions, but when they are the *limit* of strategy they may do more harm than good.

ii. Special Interracial Activities and Contacts

With its vast program and resources the annual conference is usually in a much better position to organize and carry out activities and programs which provide opportunities for the stereotype-breaking contact experiences involving persons of different racial groups.²⁰ The various forms of workshops, work camps, conferences, youth institutes, etc., which can be organized on the level of the annual conference, form a ready resource for the minister who would like to involve certain of his people in such educational experiences without risking the premature hardening of opposition among laymen who are not ready for such experiences themselves. In talking with laymen and ministers in the South who are exercising real leadership in race relations, one not infrequently hears that their "awakening" has occurred in some such setting. Needless to say, the programming of interracial contact activities by an annual conference organization should be consistent with the discussion of such experiences in Chapter Three.

iii. Programming by Conference Organizations

Every annual conference represents an important level of activity in the special age, sex, and interest organizations and movements of the church. Typically, the Woman's Society of Christian Service, the Wesleyan Service Guild (for professional women), the Methodist Men, the Methodist Youth Fellowship, and like groups will be organized effectively on the annual conference level, with local societies in most of the local churches of the conference.

This situation provides channels for strategy to ex-

ploit the differing attitudes, degrees of flexibility, etc., of different age and sex groupings from the conference level. Of these groups which are effectively organized on the local and annual conference levels of the church, those representing the women and young people would appear to be most accessible strategically. Besides being very well organized in most conferences, it has often been pointed out that the women and youth are more frequently prone to occupy advanced positions in terms of their attitudes and actions in race relations.²¹

Various reasons could be given to account for the more liberal views and actions of the youth and women. In the case of young people, it could be argued that the natural independence and even rebelliousness generally characteristic of adolescence could be expected in many cases to extend to rebellion against prevalent parental and social views in race relations. Further, the moral contradictions implicit in segregation may often be perceived more clearly by young people who have not yet developed "vested interests" which would be threatened by participation in social controversy. In some cases, also, young people have had the advantage of exposure to superior educational resources, with broadened understanding of the problems involved in segregation. During the period of adolescence and early adulthood there is likely to be more intellectual uncertainty and questing, more idealism, and more flexibility of attitude. These points would argue that this age ought strategically to be reached and utilized for both immediate and long-range objectives.

The women, it could be argued, are similarly a strategic group to reach. Being, in a sense, a minority group themselves, with less direct involvement in the scarce values of prestige and power and with less access to the processes of decision-making than men, women may have a more natural inclination to sympathy and understanding of the position occupied by Negroes. They are likely to have more time for study and reflection. Not generally being involved directly in economic or political positions and being able to draw upon the lingering mores of chivalry, they are much less vulnerable to reprisal for activities which draw the community ire.²²

In most cases, the annual conference organizations of women and youth would have considerable freedom in undertaking the work of preparing the church for desegregation. In their programming of leadership

²¹ Cf. Culver, pp. 160ff. The youth and women were also frequently mentioned in the various Interracial Leadership Conferences sponsored by annual conferences and the Board of Social and Economic Relations as being in the forefront of the church's witness in race relations. Numerous examples could be given of interracial leadership and activities by women and youth even in the Deep South.

²² Most of these points were made to the writer in a personal interview with Mrs. Milton E. Tilly, a Methodist laywoman of Georgia whose outstanding leadership of southern women in the area of race relations has gained national recognition for many years. Interview, Atlanta, Georgia, July 18, 1958. For an interesting account of this woman's leadership, which also discusses the important role which southern women have played in southern race relations, see Helena Huntington Smith, "Mrs. Tilly's Crusade," *Colliers* (December 30, 1950), 29, 66-67.

¹⁹ One may add, parenthetically, that the value of conference resolutions is sometimes indicated by the amount of opposition which they arouse!

²⁰ See Frank E. Shuler, Jr., "Techniques and Resources," *The Road to Brotherhood*, . . . , pp. 103-104, for a listing of some of the activities which have been undertaken by various annual conferences.

training conferences, workshops, work camps, institutes, deputation teams, etc., intelligent leadership in these organizations could make maximum use of the findings discussed in Chapter Three.

iv. The Board of Social and Economic Relations

A board of social and economic relations (or board of Christian social relations), while not presently a required organization on the annual conference level, may be organized as the board which is specifically entrusted with providing leadership in areas of social concern. It would be natural for such a board to assume as one of its duties the encouragement of local churches in the formation of similar commissions on the local level, and it could help in promoting the work of the national Board of Social and Economic Relations in areas such as race relations. It would be the natural group to formulate conference resolutions and to secure their passage and distribution. It could provide leadership and resources for the ministers of the annual conference and for the special annual conference level organizations in the church. In general, this board provides an official channel for very specific action in controversial areas, carrying the flexibilities and immunities generally characteristic of official bodies.²³

6. TRANSFERS AND MERGERS ON THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE LEVEL

It is possible for the annual conference, in addition to its educational and supportive functions, to move in another, more direct way in breaking down patterns of segregation. Amendment IX has made provision for the transfer of local churches from Central Jurisdictional annual conferences into the annual conferences in which they are geographically located of the other jurisdictions. An annual conference, thus, can become desegregated prior to desegregation on the level of the local church or to the complete dissolution of the Central Jurisdiction itself.

i. Strategic Importance of the Desegregated Annual Conference

From the point of view of the Methodist goal in race relations, as discussed in Chapter Two, a desegregated annual conference would be desirable as an end in itself. Desegregation at this level, however, *could be considered to have great strategic significance in terms of the desegregation of local churches within the annual conference as well.*

By definition, the inclusion of Negro churches in an annual conference would mean the presence of

Negro pastors and lay delegates at annual conference sessions. It would also open up the immediate possibility of full participation by Negroes in all of the various activities of the annual conference, including the youth, women's, and men's organizations, institutes, training conferences, pastor's schools, etc. Such activities would also be opened up, on an even broader base of participation, on the district and subdistrict levels of the church, since there is absolutely no provision in the *Discipline* for the creation of separate Negro districts and subdistricts within non-racial annual conferences. In this over-all setting, there could well occur the right kind of educational contact experiences involving the leaders of local churches (presumably those best able to profit by such experiences) in relatively "safe" situations. There would be much more opportunity for real Negro leadership to develop in situations where leadership standards are not made artificially low by patterns of segregation, and such leadership would not have to bear the stigma of having been created paternalistically. Contacts between persons of different races would also be with reference to common interests and purposes, between individuals of reasonably similar cultural outlook.

Effective desegregation would thus be but one step away from the local church itself. Since segregation is nowhere constitutionally required on the local church level the church would be "set up" for the kind of strategic activity discussed in Chapter Four. The desegregated annual conference would function strategically in relation to the phase of "preparation" discussed in that chapter, and it would help to place that phase in a much wider and more powerful setting than would be possible for the local pastor or others interested in desegregation within a single church by itself.

ii. Problems to be Faced

The fact that so few local churches and annual conferences of the Central Jurisdiction have taken advantage of the provisions of Amendment IX by accepting invitations to transfer suggests that important problems may need to be overcome. Several problems do suggest themselves. First, there is the obvious political problem of complying with the stages of approval specified in the legislation. This requires that a two-thirds vote of those present and voting in the Quarterly Conference and a Church Conference in the local church, and in both of the annual conferences involved must approve the measure.²⁴ Any or all of the factors supporting segregation, which were discussed in Chapter Three, might operate within the white conference to prevent approval of transfers. But even where such approval has been given in the form of an invitation (and no such invitations have been forthcoming from southern conferences), there has often been considerable reluctance on the part of the

²³ The mere existence of such a board does not, of course, mean that it will be used in support of the official Methodist position in race relations. To illustrate the negative possibilities, the Committee on Social and Economic Relations of the Mississippi Annual Conference, in its report to the 1959 annual conference session, paid open tribute to "the cherished Southern tradition of the separation of the races." *Journal, 1959 Session, Mississippi Conference, The Methodist Church, Southeastern Jurisdiction* (Jackson, Mississippi: By the conference, 1959), p. 131.

²⁴ *Discipline, 1956*, par. 26, p. 19.

Negro congregation or its annual conference to carry the transfer through. This was strongly expressed by one Central Jurisdiction minister at one of the Interracial Leadership Conferences when he said that

in order to accept the invitation [into formerly all-white conferences], there must be a long process of undoing and psychologically adjusting, rejuvenating and revitalizing a whole lot of things. They cannot be done between one Sunday morning and the next Monday morning at eight o'clock. It can not be done in two years or three years or five years. But all of us admit that it is a wonderful thing and we are working on it. . . .²⁵

There may be, in many cases, a background of uncertainty and fear and even suspicion to be overcome. Part of the reluctance may represent sheer institutional inertia; part, vested interests.

It has been pointed out, also, that there are many technical details to be worked out. Typically, for example, a Central Jurisdiction church has not been apportioned nearly so high an amount for benevolence giving, and similar connectional burdens have been lighter.²⁶ Also, the Central Jurisdictional Annual Conference, from which the projected transfer is to occur, would be confronted by the loss of administrative financial support from the church, unless, of course, the entire conference is abolished at once. This very real problem has been felt by such Central Jurisdiction conferences as the Lexington and Delaware conferences which would stand to lose some of their largest and wealthiest northern churches if all the currently proposed transfers were to be carried out. This problem may account for much of the resistance on the part of the leadership of the Central Jurisdiction which has, in effect, nullified the strategy represented by Amendment IX.²⁷

For the Central Jurisdiction ministers there are also problems and uncertainties. In most cases they would become a small minority in a strange annual conference, with no immediate prospects for leadership roles, such as district superintendencies, membership on boards, election to General and Jurisdictional Conferences, etc. Since the number of non-seminary graduates is higher in the Central Jurisdiction conferences²⁸ there could be anxieties as to membership status. Most basic of all, perhaps, is the anxiety that mobility among the few Negro ministers in an annual conference will be restricted to the handful of Negro churches, with no prospects of serving white or mixed churches or even of serving Negro churches in other episcopal areas. As one illustration of this feeling, the General Secretary of the Board of Social and Economic Relations reported that in one community

an invitation was sent to six or seven churches to transfer from the Central Jurisdiction. Just as this seemed to be going through, the pastors called on the Bishop and asked whether they would have an opportunity for the best churches in the Conference. The Bishop pointed out that there were many factors involved, and many pastors eligible for these posts, so that no promises could be made other than a guarantee of fair treatment. The invitation was not accepted.²⁹

All of these problems converge to make the transfers more difficult.

iii. Lines of Action

Several suggestions could be made for dealing with some of these problems on the level of the annual conference.³⁰ First would be the observation that the technical details, relating to apportionments, etc., need to be dealt with in such a way that no additional burden is placed upon the Central Jurisdiction church or the Central Jurisdiction annual conference. This may mean that the basis of apportionment will have to be revised to provide for the lower incomes of Negroes. Thus, the size of membership might need to be weighted lower and factors such as the pastor's salary weighted higher in arriving at apportionments. Additional pension costs occasioned by the lower pension figures of most Central Jurisdiction conferences could simply be absorbed. In many cases the problem of withdrawing support from Central Jurisdiction conferences could be met if the annual conference into which the Negro churches were transferred were to volunteer to continue paying a like amount to the Central Jurisdiction conference until the latter could be completely absorbed by the geographical jurisdictions. The care with which such technical details are considered in advance may communicate to the Negro churches and conferences the genuineness of the welcome.

The problem of ministerial leadership and mobility is somewhat more complex. Here again there seems to be no real reason why interconference mobility could not be arranged, suspending, until Negroes can freely be assigned to all churches, the usual reluctance to transfer men from one conference to another. A bishop could also do much to demonstrate his good faith in opening formerly all-white churches to qualified Negro pastors. A "guarantee of fair treatment" might be accompanied by specific discussion of churches where the color line may be broken.³¹ Back-

²⁵ The Methodist Church, . . . , *Interracial Conference Report, Jamaica, New York, 1956*, pp. 13-14.

²⁶ The possibility that this cannot be done entirely on the level of the annual conference will be discussed in the next chapter.

³¹ The major criticism which this writer would have of the otherwise commendable response of the bishop reported above (in Section ii) is that, as reported, he apparently accepted the assumption of the question put to him by the ministers: namely, that there are "best" churches! In the historic spirit of Methodism he might have challenged them with the teamwork spirit of the annual conference, pointing out that every pastor has vital work to do. Insofar as the bishop was actually leading his conference in that vein he could have made this kind of appeal warmly and with integrity. It might have shown that the men were wanted because of the important contribution which each one of them could make to the church and the Christian enterprise.

²⁵ The Methodist Church, . . . , *Interracial Conference Report, Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec. 6-7, 1957*, p. 159.

²⁶ This problem has been borne out in comparative statistics compiled for several of the Interracial Leadership Conferences. See *ibid.*, Columbus, Ohio, April 2-4, 1959, p. 50. This problem is predictable, of course, on the basis of the generally lower income of Negroes.

²⁷ This reluctance on the part of many of the leaders of the Central Jurisdiction will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

²⁸ Dixon, pp. 68-72.

ing this up in some measure, the nominating committee of every conference inviting Central Jurisdiction churches to transfer could be sure that the Negro pastors are invited to serve on specific conference boards and committees, perhaps giving them their choices.

From a purely ethical point of view it is doubtful whether Negro pastors and congregations should have to bear *all* of the risk and uncertainty of the transfers. In a spirit of cooperation the receiving annual conference should also make sacrifices to achieve the great values of an inclusive fellowship.

7. SUMMARY

In this chapter it has been pointed out that connectional levels of The Methodist Church, besides offering opportunities for intrinsically valuable interracial fellowship, present broad opportunities and resources which can be used to support desegregation in the local church. The strategic role of the bishop has been surveyed, with particular emphasis upon his virtually absolute power of appointment of ministers. With his power and influence the bishop has been considered able to support the more courageous and venturesome of his ministers and to encourage all of his ministers to accept the importance of their role as social change agents in race relations. It has been held that much of the attitude of the ministers will depend upon the way in which he judges their competence, and that his manifest role conception of the ministry will strongly affect theirs. In other ways the bishop has been regarded as capable of using his influence and power in preparing a broad climate of public opinion in his area which will support desegregation and in specific institutional actions of his own.

The supportive possibilities of the annual conference structure have been analyzed, with emphasis upon

its place as an important ministerial "reference group." Within the conference structure itself possibilities have been explored for the exploitation of mutually supportive strategic roles for ministers. The educational possibilities of the conference have been suggested, including the value of resolutions and the numerous contact experiences which can be organized on the conference level. It has been suggested that the natural independence and idealism of youth and the specific inclinations of women can be used as channels of preparation for desegregation through conference youth and women's organizations. The possibilities of the conference Board of Social and Economic Relations have also been noted.

Finally, the great strategic importance of the desegregated annual conference has been noted and suggestions made for overcoming the many problems which interconference transfers of churches have thus far encountered. It has been pointed out that the desegregation of the annual conference makes possible many valuable interracial contact experiences in settings much more ideal than any possible "manufactured" experiences. It has been shown that such experiences may involve the people of local churches who are most prepared for them and that they would necessarily include contact experiences on the district and sub-district levels as well as within the annual conference itself.

A number of the strategic points which have been discussed in this chapter, such as the role of the bishops, the desegregation of the annual conference, etc., point beyond this chapter to consideration of the national level of The Methodist Church. The next chapter will consider the ways in which the church, as a total denomination, can act to provide a coherent program of support for desegregation in the annual conferences and the local churches of Methodism.



Chapter Six

A Strategy for the General Conference and the National Level

The highly organized, connectional structure of The Methodist Church, as a denomination, is such that it presents a strategic inquiry such as this both with very complex problems and with great opportunities. The opportunities are suggested by the fact that Methodism has much more institutional unity, as a denomination, than do many congregationally organized bodies. As one former leader of the church has put it, the entire church

is the common enterprise of all, whether lay members, itinerant ministers, or bishops. Its interests, whether congregational, missionary, educational, publicational, benevolent, or evangelistic, are the interests of them all. The indifference of any is to the injury of everyone, and the industry, efficiency, and achievements of each are to the glory of each and all. . . . The oneness is a basic principle in the life, labor, and relationship of The Methodist Church.¹

An examination of the *Discipline* reveals both the truth of these comments on the unity of the denomination and the complexity of organization which has evolved to provide channels of communication and means of implementing common purposes. It is a reasonable hypothesis that Methodist connectional organization could be utilized on the national level to further racial desegregation throughout the church. This may represent opportunities unavailable to less connectionally organized denominations.

The sheer complexity of organization on the denominational level of The Methodist Church presents problems to a study of this kind. It requires limitation of inquiry to only the most important strategic possibilities suggested by the denominational structure. Further, there is greater risk that "strategy" on this level will range somewhat closer to "tactics" than the preceding two chapters since, on the national level, one is confronted by very specific institutions rather than *types* of institutions to be discussed.

The primary objective of strategy on the national level will be to give maximum support to racial desegregation at the annual conference and local church levels, although, again, it should be remembered that there is certain intrinsic value in interracial fellowship and activity on the distinctively national level.

1. STRATEGIC LEGISLATION BY THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

The General Conference, which meets every four years, is the supreme legislative body of The Methodist Church with "full legislative power over all matters distinctively connectional."² Of its fourteen listed powers, the following are of particular relevance to this study:

1. To define and fix the conditions, privileges, and duties of church membership.

3. To define and fix the powers and duties of Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and Missions, and of District, Quarterly, and Church Conferences.

5. To define and fix the powers, duties, and privileges of the episcopacy.

8. To initiate and to direct all connectional enterprises of the church, such as publishing, educational, missionary, and benevolent, and to provide boards for their promotion and administration.

9. To determine and provide for raising the funds necessary to carry on the connectional work of the the church.

10. To fix a uniform basis upon which bishops shall be elected by the Jurisdictional Conferences. . . .

13. To establish such commissions for the general work of the church as may be deemed advisable.

14. To enact such other legislation as may be necessary, subject to the limitations and restrictions of the Constitution of the church.³

The Constitution further provides that the General Conference may initiate amendments to the Constitution and that no amendment may be passed without approval of at least a two-thirds majority of the members of the General Conference present and voting.⁴ These powers support Harmon's observation that the General Conference is "the most powerful organization in [the] church and one of the most potent ecclesiastical organizations of the whole world."⁵ And it should be expected that the General Conference

² *Discipline*, 1956, par. 8, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, par. 10, p. 13.

⁵ Harmon, p. 127.

¹ John M. Moore, *Methodism in Belief and Action* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1946), p. 131.

must receive primary attention in formulating a strategy for the national level of the church.

Two important possibilities may emerge for the General Conference. First, its command of the resources of the denomination indicate that it may use these resources by way of supporting the strategic efforts of the lower levels of the church. Secondly, its definitive role as the legislature for the church indicates that it may be able to provide a coherent frame of reference within which the entire church can move toward desegregation. This could be done by defining goals, both ultimate and proximate, clearly, by providing guidance for the lower levels of the church on procedures for desegregation, and by attempting to remove institutional "roadblocks" to desegregation. By providing a clear frame of reference, the General Conference will do much to establish confidence in the justice and inevitability of desegregation throughout the membership of the denomination. In the light of previous discussions of the importance of reference group expectations in determining behavior and of the need which wavering persons have for a sense of security, this role of the General Conference may be very significant. Further, persons who are actively working for desegregation will be less easily discouraged if their own efforts can be seen clearly in the light of an emerging national frame of reference.

i. The Planned Abolition of the Central Jurisdiction

At the heart of most discussions of segregation in The Methodist Church is the Central Jurisdiction.⁹ In surveying this problem and the strategic possibilities for General Conference action in dealing with it, consideration will first be given to strategic legislative goals and then to possibilities for achieving these goals.

(1) *Abolition of the Central Jurisdiction as a Strategic Goal.*—By definition, the continued existence of a racially defined Central Jurisdiction would imply the continued existence of segregation in The Methodist Church, and the acceptance of the Central Jurisdiction as a *final* solution for the relations between Negroes and others in The Methodist Church would *de facto* constitute a repudiation of the goal of desegregation, as outlined in Chapter Two, regardless of any other advantages this might be held to have.

The Central Jurisdiction, however, has not lacked for defenders even among those who are opposed to segregation in principle as a final solution. These supporters hold, in one way or another, that the Central Jurisdiction has features commending it as a desirable *interim* solution to race relations problems in the church.

Culver has summarized three of the important arguments which have been advanced in support of the jurisdiction. They are that it gives

(1) assurance of equal representation to Negroes in the governing bodies of the church; (2) an opportunity to develop leadership by "managing their own affairs"; and (3) an opportunity to demonstrate what Negroes can do.⁷

In discussing the first of these points, Culver points out that, although proportional representation for the Central Jurisdiction has been provided for on most of the General Boards and Agencies of the church, Negroes seldom occupy positions of leadership on these boards and agencies. This would seem to indicate that, despite possible advantages in the way of prestige and material reward, the Central Jurisdiction's representation on the denomination-wide levels of church government is not very effective as *leadership*.⁸

In discussing the second point, Culver notes that 62.5 per cent of his respondents within the Central Jurisdiction disagree with the statement that "Negro leadership develops better in the separate jurisdiction."⁹ 55 per cent of the Negro district superintendents similarly disagree with this statement.¹⁰ Reasons given for this disagreement were that segregation deprives Negroes of the higher standards and better training opportunities available in non-segregated situations and that the Central Jurisdiction's leadership system is heavily incrustured with "politics."¹¹ The assertion that Negro leadership develops better in a segregated setting would also seem to assume either a denial of equal native abilities on the part of Negroes or of equal opportunities.

In discussing the third point, Culver notes that "once Negroes have demonstrated their abilities, it becomes necessary to consider a change in their status."¹² Unless one regards segregation as a desirable permanent solution, there is no point in maintaining permanently an opportunity for Negroes, *as such*, to show what they can do.

More recently other arguments and variations on those summarized by Culver have appeared in the continuing conversation on the Central Jurisdiction throughout the church. Following are some of these:

⁷ Culver, p. 83.

⁸ Examination of the "Directory" in the 1956 *Discipline* (pp. 740ff.) suggests this unmistakably. Of the thirty-six effective bishops serving in the United States, four, or more than ten per cent, are from the Central Jurisdiction. Yet not even one of the more than forty-five actual leadership posts (e.g., president) on the boards, commissions, etc., which are filled by bishops is occupied by a bishop of the Central Jurisdiction. The only position of real leadership in the church occupied by a Central Jurisdiction member was the presidency of the Judicial Council, held by the late J. Ernest Wilkins, an outstanding lawyer and Assistant Secretary of Labor in the Federal Government. It is possible that real leadership is actually inhibited by the more artificial representation guaranteed through the Central Jurisdiction. Often, as has been indicated in Chapter Four, guaranteed "Negro representation" can function as a means of (1) salving the conscience and (2) precluding widespread and real interracial involvement. These points are raised partly as background for assertions that representation on the national level is a poor substitute for desegregation on broader levels of genuine involvement. It should be noted, however, that guaranteed participation is often a necessary temporary measure to assure *some* opportunity.

⁹ Culver, p. 85.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-89.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁹ See Chapter One above for historical background on the Central Jurisdiction and related problems.

(1) Since prejudice and ill will are the cause of segregation and, ultimately, of the Central Jurisdiction, the abolition of the jurisdiction should follow rather than precede a change of spirit, the cause being dealt with before its effect.

(2) The Central Jurisdiction should be kept until there are assurances that every interest which it presently fulfills could be satisfied.

(3) As long as there are distinctly Negro churches there should be Negro annual conferences and bishops to serve them, and as long as there are Negro annual conferences and bishops there should be a Negro jurisdiction to guarantee that they receive equal treatment from the church.

(4) The Central Jurisdiction should be maintained until there is hope of more significant progress because it is a "bargaining lever," a position of political strength.

(5) The Central Jurisdiction is a "conscience lever." Whites shouldn't be allowed to salve their consciences by abolishing the Central Jurisdiction until they are ready to go all the way with integration.

(6) The Central Jurisdiction should be kept in a position of institutional strength until it can all be taken care of equitably at once.

(7) The abolition of the Central Jurisdiction, while retaining Negro annual conferences, is neither a solution nor progress toward a solution because the only level at which it provides desegregation, the jurisdictional level, has little significance in the life of the church and because such a method might carry the threat of loss of present institutional advantages of the Central Jurisdiction.

Each of these points needs to be considered carefully in an effort to arrive at a strategic goal with respect to the Central Jurisdiction because these arguments represent some of the best thinking prevalent in the church—often of men who have been involved with the problem intimately for many years.

The first argument was effectively stated by an editorial in the *Christian Advocate* prior to the 1956 General Conference:

a [majority] of the church (and it is not to be localized in the North or South) believes that segregation is sinful, that repentance is more important than resolutions, that the time for turning away from sin is now, that it is not so much a sin of organization as of attitudes, and attitudes of local congregations and individual church members. But this majority recognizes that the job is to change Methodists rather than their "Discipline."¹⁸

This argument is also to be encountered in some form in many of the articles of the *Central Christian Advocate*, in the reports of the Interracial Leadership Conferences, and in conversation with some denominational leaders. Nevertheless, it is largely contradicted

by the findings of the social sciences, as reported in Chapter Three. Often, it will be recalled, changes of institutional structures and patterns are the most effective way of changing attitudes. Institutional patterns themselves are one of the most important causes of attitudes.

The second argument was suggested by Bishop Shaw of the Central Jurisdiction (retired) when he said that

the College of Bishops of the Central Jurisdiction agreed that the Central Jurisdiction should be abolished, but that it should not be abolished in a hurry, and that it should be abolished when practically every interest of those concerned can be reasonably well taken care of.¹⁴

This point seems well taken. Certainly, it would appear, Negroes should not be forced to bear all of the burden of risk in desegregation, with Central Jurisdiction leadership having to start again "from scratch" while white leaders continue to occupy their positions. Neither, it would seem, should the arrangements implied in desegregation of institutions be left to chance. Nevertheless, it should be apparent that special privilege is not consistent with desegregation, and Negro leaders cannot expect to secure provision for leadership posts in the church purely on the basis of color if they desire to have opportunity based entirely upon ability. The two are not consistent. Further, the ethical point could be made that effective desegregation is of far more importance than personal interests; although it should, of course, be added that Negroes ought not to be expected to place the broader and deeper interests of the faith ahead of personal interests any *more* than whites. For *both* this should be most important.

The third argument asserts that so long as there are Negro churches there should be distinctively Negro administrative structures. One Central Jurisdiction bishop remarked to the writer that Negro churches would lose heavily if they were not served by Negro bishops, district superintendents, etc.¹⁵ This assertion, however, has yet to be proven on the basis of the experience of Negro churches in conferences outside the Central Jurisdiction—although, of course, Negro churches could be expected to resent discriminatory treatment. The further point should be made that, assuming that complete separation of the races is not desirable, it would seem that progress would be in the direction of securing the broadest possible base of desegregation. The importance of this was noted in Chapter Five, where it was pointed out that desegregation on the level of the annual conference could have great strategic importance in supporting efforts to desegregate on the local level.

The fourth argument is suggested by David M. Pleasants in his article in *Central Christian Advocate*: "the obtaining of the things we seek can only come through negotiation, or to state it baldly, through

¹⁸ "Methodist Cleavages," *Christian Advocate*, 138 (September 8, 1955), 13.

¹⁴ The Methodist Church, . . . , *Interracial Conference Report*, Glendale, Calif., Feb. 11-13, 1958, p. 2.

¹⁵ Interview, July 11, 1958.

bargaining. And they, who are at all astute, bargain from a position of strength."¹⁶ The "position of strength" presumably refers to powers connected with General Conference representation and positions on the various boards and agencies of the church. This position might have some meaning in terms of securing privileges such as certain employment opportunities within the church and other material advantages. This suggests again the importance, strategically, of making provision for non-discriminatory selection of leadership and employees in the church and in distribution of church funds. It is, however, inconceivable to the present writer that the Central Jurisdiction is a "position of strength," with respect to "negotiating" the complete desegregation of the church. Rather, *it would appear that the institutional privileges, etc., of the Central Jurisdiction are the price which is willingly being paid by those desirous of retaining segregation in the church.*¹⁷

The fifth argument, which is rarely stated in exactly that way, might have more force. As long as the Central Jurisdiction is in existence it is an important symbol to the world and to white Methodists that the church is racially segregated. If it were to be removed without any real progress being made toward desegregation, the load might be lifted from many consciences, and there would be less motivation to follow through with real desegregation. It is important to recognize, however, that there is a limit beyond which the "conscience lever" will no longer be of much effect: that is the point at which non-Negroes have reason to suspect that members of the Central Jurisdiction are reluctant to part with the special privileges of the jurisdiction. Resistance, on the part of Negroes, to any substantial progress toward desegregation correspondingly weakens their moral position and, thereby, the pressure on the conscience of the church. Thus, overly-tenacious clinging to the Central Jurisdiction may serve the opposite effect of that intended by those desirous of keeping motivations active for complete desegregation.

The sixth argument, suggested by the bishops of the Central Jurisdiction, is that "as long as we have a Jurisdiction it should be maintained with a reasonable degree of strength."¹⁸ It would seem true that a "withering away" of the Central Jurisdiction *will* create grave difficulties in maintaining the institutional effectiveness of the remainder of the jurisdiction. This would appear to cast reflections upon the permissive character of Amendment IX or at least to require further administrative provisions by the General Conference. This will be discussed further in connection with Amendment IX and the permissive approach. It should also be noted, however, that there

will be institutional gains with abolition of the Central Jurisdiction. At least churches will find themselves in closer proximity to other churches of the same annual conferences, and there will be less ambiguity as to whether the Central Jurisdiction or the present geographical jurisdictions should develop new work in mixed population areas.

The seventh argument may have much strength. The jurisdictional level of the church, if desegregated, would not provide a much broader base of interracial contact than does the national level.¹⁹ Without provisions to the contrary, this step would imply institutionally a trading of the representational rights of the Central Jurisdiction for the right to participate in the elections for bishops, etc., in the geographical jurisdictions. While this might have possibilities, particularly in the South where it would be helpful, perhaps, to have bishops owing their election in part to Negro delegations, it might very effectively preclude concern for further, more strategic steps. Bishop Love of the Central Jurisdiction noted some of the problems with settling for desegregation on this level in one of the Interracial Leadership Conferences.

The Bishops of the Southeastern Jurisdiction, addressing the Bishops of the Central Jurisdiction in a meeting of the Bishops of the Second [Central] Jurisdiction, boldly said if you want to come into the Southeastern Jurisdiction we will take you. We would accept every Bishop who would fall within the geographical area of the Southeastern Jurisdiction. But what they did not say is we will still assign you to Negro conferences and you still have your Negro churches, and when your time comes to retire, we wouldn't elect any more Negro Bishops. Now, they didn't say that but that's what was inferred.²⁰

The foregoing discussion should be sufficient to warrant the following conclusions regarding General Conference legislative goals on the Central Jurisdiction:

- (1) *Strategic legislative action will not wait until every vestige of prejudice in The Methodist Church disappears before abolishing the Central Jurisdiction.*
- (2) *Strategic legislative action will make some provision for institutional equity in transfers or mergers so that Negroes holding leadership positions will not be expected to sacrifice everything and white leaders nothing.*
- (3) *Vestiges of the Central Jurisdiction which cannot be removed legislatively should be supported economically, as much as necessary, by the total church.*
- (4) *Strategic legislative action will be aimed primarily at desegregation on the annual conference level, so that the base of inter-*

¹⁶ David M. Pleasants, "Ought the Central Jurisdiction Be Abolished?" *Central Christian Advocate*, 134 (July 1, 1959), 7.

¹⁷ The present writer has never heard or read of a Methodist segregationist wishing to weaken the institutional privileges of the Central Jurisdiction.

¹⁸ Bowen and others, *Statement of the College of Bishops of the Central Jurisdiction . . .*, p. 1.

¹⁹ Half of the delegates to the jurisdictional conferences are also delegates to the General Conference. *Discipline*, 1956, par. 23, pp. 17-18.

²⁰ *The Methodist Church, . . . , Interracial Conference Report, Jamaica, New York, 1956*, p. 6.

racial contact will be on the broadest possible level to support strategies for desegregation at the local level of the church. (Since there is no provision in the Discipline for segregation on the local church level, none is legislatively needed for desegregation.)

The legislative goals thus suggested assume clearly that the sacrifice of guaranteed leadership positions and the like on the national level ought to yield to the much broader base of interracial contact within the church implied by desegregation on the annual conference level. Over a period of time, the leadership which then emerges from the Negroes of The Methodist Church will be untainted by any suggestion of institutional paternalism and considerable progress will have been made toward full desegregation.

(2) *Legislative Procedures.*—The General Conference, under the present Constitution, is committed to a permissive or “voluntary” approach to the abolition of the Central Jurisdiction. Within this framework it would be authorized to act in the following strategic ways with respect to the abolition of the jurisdiction:

(1) *providing a uniform basis for handling the technical details of transfers from one jurisdiction to another, such as provision for equitable ministerial pension adjustments, changes in apportionments, etc.;*

(2) *providing for the continuation in office of members of national boards, commissions, and agencies from transferring Central Jurisdiction churches and annual conferences for a period of time considered equitable, and recommending to the annual conferences an equitable uniform policy for the adjustment of leadership positions and committee and board assignments on the annual conference level;*

(3) *recommending uniform and simplified procedures for the bishops to utilize in transferring Negro ministers across annual conference lines in areas where free pulpit assignment of Negroes to white churches is not yet possible;*

(4) *requiring the annual conferences to establish committees on transfer with the duty prescribed of handling the negotiations of transfer, studying peculiar local problems, and reporting annually to the annual conference.*

It could, in addition to these procedures, require a vote each year in every annual conference on whether or not the Negro churches within its area shall be invited to transfer under the provisions of Amendment IX until such transfers have been effected.

These measures might help significantly to ease fears and establish a framework of regularity for the transfer process, thus facilitating the gradual abolition of the jurisdiction.

The more direct approach of abolishing the Central Jurisdiction and merging its churches with existing geographical annual conferences would require constitutional amendment because it would be a substantial change in the provisions of Amendment IX and alter the constitutional status of the Central Jurisdiction. Such an amendment, which could be initiated in the General Conference, an annual conference, or a jurisdictional conference, would require a two-thirds majority vote of the members of the General Conference present and voting. It would then need to be ratified by a “two-thirds majority of all the members of the several Annual Conferences present and voting.”²¹

(3) *Direct Abolition or the Voluntary Approach?*—The question remains whether strategy would encourage complete reliance upon the voluntary Amendment IX procedure, as supplemented by the actions possible to the General Conference, or a full-scale constitutional amendment effecting direct abolition of the Central Jurisdiction and, thereby, of segregation on all connectional levels of the church.

In support of a voluntary approach, it can be (and has been) argued that it is the only democratic approach, that it preserves the principle of local autonomy, that it is the only way of dealing strategically with the intense regional feelings of the South (which is presumed to be capable of withdrawing from The Methodist Church if desegregation is “forced” on it by the General Conference), and that this approach should be given more time to demonstrate its effectiveness before the church commits itself to more radical procedures.²² Further, it has been held that direct abolition of the Central Jurisdiction could not secure the majorities necessary for passage of a constitutional amendment.

In these arguments there is appeal both to ethical principle and to practical strategy. The ethical appeal to democracy and local autonomy is, of course, somewhat vulnerable. In a connectional church, such as Methodism, it is assumed that important questions facing the whole church will be decided by the whole church—or at least that no unqualified appeal can be made to “local autonomy.” The appeal to democracy also sounds strange in this connection, for it amounts to an appeal for freedom to continue to deny democracy by practicing segregation. In any event, the

²¹ *Discipline, 1956*, par. 10, p. 12. It should be noted that in this ratification process the several annual conferences are not considered as units, but their members are counted as if all the members of annual conferences were gathered together in one body.

²² These feelings are reflected in the majority of statements in the reports of the Interracial Leadership Conferences, in the statements of denominational officials, in pronouncements by southern conferences, and now in the report of the Commission for Study and Action on the Jurisdictional System (which recommends continuing this basic strategy).

basis of membership in The Methodist Church is the meeting of specified religious qualifications, not congeniality, and one would wonder whether, ethically speaking, a permissive approach would be the proper way of determining how the various levels of the church are to be constituted racially.²³

The strategic problem is more pointed and may underlie ostensibly ethical appeals. With the contemporary wave of resistance to public school desegregation still gripping the South and with the apparent readiness of southern regional feelings to interpret an action by the General Conference as an attack by "outsiders," it is possible that some threat to the harmony of the church would be involved in a direct action approach.

Despite this fact, however, the study to this point would suggest important criticisms of the permissive approach embodied in Amendment IX. The obvious fact that thus far it has not produced very much desegregation has some force, and the apparent policy of Central Jurisdiction leaders to discourage use of it has even more. It is doubtful, too, whether southern annual conferences would voluntarily agree to desegregation on the annual conference level until a considerable period of time after such a step would be strategically useful in preparing the churches of that region for desegregation. The permissive approach could also appear to cast desegregation in the light of administrative changes to which the church has no compelling commitment. And the uncertain, slow "whittling-away" process invited by the Amendment IX procedures must have an enervating effect upon Central Jurisdiction members.

Further, the implied commitment to unity and harmony above all else has dangers. Where there is a majority within the church committed above everything else to unity and harmony, a minority which is committed above everything else to maintaining segregation can, by its threats, *determine the basis of institutional unity and harmony*. The dynamics of this were observed by Campbell and Pettigrew in the Little Rock situation. The integrationist ministers, for the most part, yielded their convictions on race relations to the demand for unity and harmony, with the result that hard core segregationists were able to define the nature of the unity.²⁴

A clear implication of Chapter Three would be that some controversy and conflict is necessary for there to be social change. It is therefore probable that full reliance upon uncontroversial approaches to desegregation will greatly impede change.²⁵

²³ Cf. Chapter Two, above, for a fuller analysis of the ethical problems involved here.

²⁴ Campbell and Pettigrew, pp. 76ff. The ethical presuppositions of the present study would give considerable weight and importance to unity and harmony within the church, but they would require that the ultimate commitment be not to unity as such but to faithfulness to the central core of meaning which defines the nature of the church.

²⁵ There is doubtless need for more study of the creative possibilities of conflict and controversy within the church. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that the ethos of The Methodist Church, as evidenced in the

The strategic implications of this discussion would seem to be (a) that fullest use should be made of Amendment IX procedures and possibilities together with the additional suggestions to be made later by way of supporting desegregation, but (b) that at the same time efforts should be directed toward passage of another constitutional amendment to effect desegregation on all connectional levels of the church. Such an amendment should be designed to transfer all of the churches of the Central Jurisdiction into the geographical annual conferences in which they are located. It should be accompanied by legislation dealing with all of the institutional complexities involved, such as adjustment of pension plans, bases of apportionment, and equity of leadership. Since there are annual conferences of the Deep South which could be expected to provide a hostile reception even to Negro ministers and lay leaders on connectional levels, it would be possible to include in the amendment provision for such annual conferences to vote to remain segregated, perhaps requiring secret balloting on this issue annually for as long as the conference desired to maintain segregation. In addition to providing an "escape hatch" for the areas of hard core resistance, this provision would have the value of preserving clear lines of moral responsibility so that the segregationist, rather than the integrationist, would have to bear the burden of differing with organizational policy. Needless to say, effective provision would need to be made for continuation of work among the Negro churches excluded from annual conferences by such a provision.

Securing the passage of such an amendment might, of course, present political difficulties. Yet the very process of seeking its passage could have strategic value. This process could help to solidify and give morale to those within the church really desiring desegregation. Further, a continuing movement in this direction might help to strengthen the sense of the inevitability of desegregation and to combat the complacent spirit which indirectly supports the intransigent segregationist. Prognosis as to the likelihood of such an amendment's passing within the next few years would be difficult, but there is no evidence that it would be impossible. In any event, until the passage of such an amendment the possibilities of Amendment IX should be fully exploited.

writings and statements of denominational leaders and the tendency to preserve an aura of unanimity to denomination actions and programs, does not appear to encourage frank expressions of difference. The ethical presuppositions of this study would suggest the following as "working propositions" on the creative role of controversy and conflict within the church: (1) a clear, strategic expression of one's point of view in an effort to win others to it; (2) restraint from implied attacks upon the character or personalities of those in opposition, the attack being centered, rather, upon what are considered erroneous views or unjust vested interests; (3) a commitment to well-defined and democratic procedures of decision-making, as distinct from institutional violence; and (4) a commitment to abide by the results of all decisions, good and bad, until they can be changed by proper procedure. These points would never allow vague threats to the unity of the church to inhibit fullest use of legitimate constitutional processes in securing decisions and changes within the church. Conversely, it may perhaps be said that persons not willing to abide by the due processes of legislative and constitutional procedure should seek a church with a different policy.

ii. Legislation to Eliminate Barriers to Desegregation

In addition to direct legislation dealing with the Central Jurisdiction, proposals have been forthcoming for the adoption of other legislative and constitutional measures to facilitate the process of desegregation throughout the church.

(1) *Legislation on the Jurisdictional Structure.*—It has often been proposed that the jurisdictional system of the church should itself be abolished. While many of these proposals have been aimed at reforms in the church not directly connected with the issue of segregation, it has often been pointed out that in two strategic ways this would also aid desegregation: first, it would by definition also abolish the Central Jurisdiction; secondly, it would weaken the organizational cohesiveness of the southern portions of the church, thus weakening the basis for organized resistance to desegregation measures undertaken by the denomination as such.

With regard to the first point, however, as Harmon has pointed out,

even if the whole Jurisdictional plan was scrapped, there would still be the problem of the 19 Annual Conferences, basic bodies in the church. It was, and is, these separate Negro Annual Conferences, comprised of Negro congregations served by Negro ministers, which really provide the issue—not their collocation in one Jurisdiction.²⁶

The step of abolishing the jurisdictional system by itself would not advance the base of interracial contact in the church.

The second point seems more valid. As long as the apparatus of a jurisdiction is available it can be used to muster and express a distinctively regional resistance. The strategic problem here, however, is that regional resistance to a change in the basic jurisdictional structure is apparently more broadly based than resistance to desegregation itself.²⁷ This appears to be true in part because of the fear of ecclesiastical interests in the South that the abolition of the jurisdictional system would threaten the current basis for selection of officers and representatives to national conferences, boards, agencies, etc. As Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam (Northeastern Jurisdiction), himself a leading opponent of both segregation and the jurisdictional system, has put it,

it was feared in some quarters, and the fear was understandable, that because of the size of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it was possible for its representatives in a General Conference to control the election of bishops, board secretaries and other church officers, as well as to determine legislation.²⁸

²⁶ Harmon, "Our Jurisdictional Organization—With a Forward-Looking Suggestion," *Christian Advocate*, 131 (April 5, 1956), 6f.

²⁷ A number of liberal southern ministers expressed to the writer that they favored desegregation and the abolition of the Central Jurisdiction but that they were strongly opposed to abolition of the jurisdictional system.

²⁸ G. Bromley Oxnam, "State of the Church," *Daily Christian Advocate: Northeastern Jurisdictional Conference of The Methodist Church*, 5 (June 14, 1956), 1-7.

National strategy, therefore, should raise real questions about allowing the basic issue of desegregation to be mixed with a partly irrelevant threat to regional vested interests.

It could be pointed out, however, that the leadership of both the Southeastern and South Central Jurisdictions could do much to ease criticism of the jurisdictional system on racial grounds. If they were to use this jurisdictional system as a means of witnessing to the official Methodist position on race relations, for example by passing a resolution supporting the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision and endorsing the Methodist statement on race, there could be no question about their sincerity in asserting that the jurisdictional system should not be a symbol of racial segregation in the church.²⁹

(2) *The Election and Assignment of Bishops.*—It will be recalled that one of the major problems discussed in Chapter Five was the development of strong, independent episcopal leadership which could, in turn, provide effective support for local leadership. The manner of election and assignment of bishops would seem important as a key to the way in which the office could be expected to be conducted. At present, the bishops of each jurisdiction are elected by the jurisdictional conference and assigned to their areas by the jurisdictional college of bishops. In practice this has generally meant that bishops have been elected from among the ministers of the jurisdiction and that there has been little mobility of bishops from assignment in one area to another area. In terms of the South, this has meant that the bishops have tended to reflect a southern attitude toward problems like race relations. And continual reassignment to the same area has apparently inhibited development of the independent and courageous leadership which is needed.³⁰ The problem, thus, is that the present modes of election and assignment of bishops tend to emphasize local and regional loyalties at the expense of loyalty to the church as a whole.

In a partial attempt to cope with this problem the Jurisdictional Study Commission has recommended to the General Conference of 1960 the passage of a constitutional amendment strengthening the Joint Committee on Episcopacy of the General Conference

²⁹ This study has not devoted a chapter to a strategy for the jurisdictional level of the church because it was not felt that this has possibilities at all comparable strategically to the local, annual conference, and national levels. (The writer would, of course, relish being proven wrong on this point by an effective program for desegregation in the Southeastern and South Central Jurisdictions!) In any case, the application of a number of the strategies discussed in connection with the other levels could readily be made to that of the jurisdiction.

³⁰ The significance of both the southern regional attitudes and the tendency of southern bishops to remain in the same area throughout their episcopal careers as inhibiting daring episcopal leadership was noted to the writer by several southern liberals. Campbell and Pettigrew have observed that length of pastorate tends to be directly related to the weakness of prophetic leadership because a minister, the longer he serves the same church, becomes increasingly bound by the expanding network of friends and by his people's expectations of him—a tendency which doubtless also operates on the episcopal level. (Pp. 70, 122-132.) Enough exceptions to this generalization could be noted, however, to suggest that a minister or bishop who is conscious of the dangers could reverse this tendency and make a long pastorate or episcopate a source of power rather than inhibition.

and providing that this committee may transfer bishops from one jurisdiction to another when the proposed transfer

(a) has been approved by a two-thirds majority of the members of the Committee on Episcopacy of the jurisdiction to which the transfer is to be made;

(b) [when] the transfer has not been disapproved by a two-thirds majority of the members of the Committee on Episcopacy of the jurisdiction out of which the transfer is to be made; and

(c) [when] the bishop involved has consented.³¹

This, if passed and ratified, would doubtless have some strategic value, as would the further proposal that bishops be consecrated at the General Conference. A further recommendation that the jurisdictional conferences should be held at the same time and place as the General Conference and with precisely the same members from each jurisdiction serving on both may also have value, as would any measures encouraging leaders to identify with the total church as their basic reference group rather than their region or area.

iii. General Conference Resolutions

Resolutions and official statements are passed by the General Conference on a wide variety of issues. As seen in Chapter Two above, issues related to race relations and desegregation have not been neglected. The value of such pronouncements on the national level would be similar strategically to those on the annual conference level (as discussed in Chapter Five above) although the moral authority of the General Conference, acting as the representative body of the entire church, would be more general. Such resolutions help to deprive the segregationist of moral authority and set the patterns of ultimate goals. They also can help to break the unanimity of pressures upon members and leaders of the church who must live and work in areas of strong segregationist sentiment, defining clearly the church's expectation of them and giving them a point of reference in their own statements.

Significantly, students of ministerial behavior in racial crisis situations have generally noted that the denominational pronouncements have some strengthening effect upon the local leadership for desegregation. Thus, the superintendent of the now-desegregated Louisville, Kentucky, school system has written that "ministers were strengthened in their support of the [school desegregation] program by the fact that the governing, or coordinating, bodies of most, if not all, of the major denominations had taken official action supporting the decision of the Supreme Court."³² And in his study of 405 inclusive churches, Kramer reports that, while many of the ministers did not regard denominational policy statements as being particularly helpful,

in each case affirmations of the value of policy are far more frequent among those who have consciously experienced the availability of such policy statements than among those who did not know of, or whose denominations did not have, policy statements when the matter of racial inclusion first presented itself.

He adds that

it is recognized that the absence of denominational policy at this point provides ample grounds for many religious groups to avoid squarely facing this issue. Furthermore, it seems clear that the presence of policy at least provides some kind of official framework and guide for progressive work toward racially inclusive congregations.³³

Kramer and others³⁴ have also pointed out, however, that a large number of ministers have not been aware of the existence of national statements on race. While this would doubtless be more true of congregationally than of connectionally organized denominations, it nevertheless underscores the importance of such statements being given adequate publicity and promotion after they are written.

With regard to the content of resolutions and statements, two points could be made. First, they should be thoroughly grounded in the generally accepted sources of doctrinal authority of the church so that they will underscore the moral and religious seriousness of the position taken and so that there will be the widest ground for acceptance. Secondly, they should provide explicit confrontation with contemporary issues so that there is no possibility of their meaning being evaded.

It could, finally, be noted that there would be real value in the restatement of issues and problems in the form of resolutions at each General Conference until desegregation is complete. This would help in giving fresh publicity each quadrennium to the consensus of the church.

iv. Leadership Possibilities with Quadrennial Emphasis Programs

Since 1944 the General Conference has established for each quadrennium a quadrennial program containing emphases to be lifted up during that period. The general philosophy of these programs is suggested by the 1956 *Discipline*:

the strategy that has undergirded our successive quadrennial programs may be summarized as follows: By selecting from time to time a particular need and challenge within the church's total program and for a period interpreting it to our people and calling them to rally to its support, we lift that particular interest to a new plane of effectiveness and continue its larger service after the special emphasis is ended.³⁵

Louisville, Ky., November 15-16, 1956, pp. 18-19.

³³ Kramer, pp. 141-142.

³⁴ Cf. Lawrence K. Northwood, "Ecological and Attitudinal Factors in Church Desegregation," *Social Problems*, 6 (Fall, 1958), 150-163.

³⁵ *Discipline*, 1956, par. 2016, p. 690.

³¹ *Jurisdictional Study Commission Report*, p. 19.

³² The Methodist Church, . . . , *Interracial Conference Report*,

The successful background of these quadrennial emphases suggests that a carefully designed and executed quadrennial program emphasizing the abolition of racial barriers within The Methodist Church could be a most effective means of focusing the energies and attention of the church on this problem. Such a program could accomplish such things as these:

- (1) the coordination of all of the vast educational, publicational, and promotional resources of The Methodist Church in educational preparation for desegregation and as a means of establishing conclusively that Methodists are expected by their church to work wherever they are for desegregation and brotherhood;
- (2) the raising of large sums of money for the undergirding of Methodist work in neglected interracial communities and inner city situations and for programs which are threatened by withdrawal of funds because of desegregation;
- (3) the raising of money to make the technical adjustments, such as ministerial pension plans, made necessary by the transfer of Central Jurisdiction churches and ministers into geographical conferences, and providing for the continued support of administrative sectors of the Central Jurisdiction forced to continue at partial strength; and
- (4) preparation for desegregation by a specific target date on every connectional level of the church, possibly with the inclusion of the "escape clause" discussed earlier in this chapter.³⁶

While such a program might require the postponement for four years of other concerns of the church, there would be many Methodists who would feel that such a concerted effort to bring the church into conformity with its own teaching on race relations would bring vast dividends in terms of the power and integrity of its witness to the world.

v. Legislative Initiative in Effecting General Conference Action

The various proposals of this section on direct legislation by the General Conference require passage by that body, of course, to have any strategic worth. Legislative initiative from any one delegate or even annual conference delegation would likely experience great difficulty in securing passage of a definitely effective program. Leadership could be effective and considered appropriate, however, if it could come from any one of four sources. It might be useful here to consider the possibilities and limitations of each.

The first source would be the Council of Bishops. Through its Episcopal Address, the influence of its members upon the various annual conference delegations and upon the boards and agencies which are expected to make recommendations to the General Conference, and through a variety of less tangible ways the Council of Bishops could exert effective

leadership. The major limitation of the Council would be that it gives every appearance of being a rather conservative institution—not in the sense that it does not favor desegregation, but rather because it appears reluctant to risk disharmony within the church to achieve it. This judgment, though it may appear somewhat harsh, is supported by most of the public statements on the church desegregation issue by members of the Council, particularly by those who lead southern areas.

The second source could be the Commission for Study and Action on the Jurisdictional System which has been discussed at various previous points in this study. The report of this commission to the 1960 General Conference has now (November, 1959) been completed, without, however, suggesting leadership on a scale such as that envisaged by the present study. As was noted in Chapter One above, this commission's political tone rendered real leadership difficult. At the present writing it is not known whether the General Conference of 1960 will reappoint this special commission for another quadrennium.

The third possible source of legislative leadership would be the General Board of Social and Economic Relations. This Board is not specifically charged with recommending General Conference legislation, but its role of leadership in the area of race relations is generally accepted and its recommendations could be counted upon to carry weight. Its lack of a "natural" legislative role and the fact that its present membership includes some quite conservative members³⁷ would tend to weaken its effectiveness.

The fourth source could be the delegation of the Central Jurisdiction. Representing the people most directly and obviously injured by segregation, this delegation would be in a most strategic position to link a concerted legislative program to an appeal to the conscience of the church. Persons opposing this program would be placed immediately in a morally defensive position, and those desiring to conceal a fundamental opposition to desegregation behind disagreement over procedure would be less able to do so. The Central Jurisdiction's delegation would be, thus, in a natural position to exploit the tendency of a legislative body to pay most attention to those most directly affected by issues and proposals.³⁸

Two major strategic problems attach themselves to leadership by the Central Jurisdiction's delegation. First, the moral force of this leadership would seem to depend upon its unity on a legislative program, and the various writings and statements of Central

³⁷ One of whom, at least, is an avowed segregationist.

³⁶ If effected by other than the permissive Amendment IX procedures, this step would, of course, require a constitutional amendment. The other points would be within constitutional reach of any General Conference.

³⁸ This tendency is suggested by Harmon's comment that "if I read the mind of the church aright, there is a feeling that what the Conferences of the Central Jurisdiction want to do about keeping a Jurisdiction of their own or fitting into the other Jurisdictions on a geographical plan will be a decision of theirs which will be supported by the rest of the church." Harmon, *Christian Advocate*, 131 (April 5, 1956), 29. There is no reason to believe that the support indicated by this statement would be limited, as implied here, to a program transferring Negro annual conferences intact into the other jurisdictions, however, although the broader the base of desegregation the greater would the opposition likely be.

Jurisdiction leaders reveal a wide variety of views on approaches to desegregation. This disunity would need to be overcome. Secondly, there is every evidence that some of the leaders of the Central Jurisdiction would prefer to retain the personal privileges which this jurisdiction's existence has brought them at the expense of desegregation.³⁹ These leaders could be expected to provide subtle opposition to any really effective plan to abolish segregation in The Methodist Church unless sufficient counter-pressures could operate upon them. In any event, the effectiveness of the Central Jurisdiction's legislative leadership would depend upon the degree of its unity and the clarity and completeness of its program.

The foregoing discussion of the legislative problem has attempted to indicate the value and possibilities of certain broad lines of strategy. An attempt to deal with the political situation in The Methodist Church in more detail would involve consideration of tactics, rather than strategy, and would be beyond the scope of the present study. It is possible and desirable, however, for strategic planning to give some consideration to institutions on the national level other than the General Conference as such, and the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to that purpose. This discussion, besides indicating further possibilities for effective strategy on the national level, may add to an understanding of the resources which are ultimately at the disposal of the General Conference for the implementation of the strategies already discussed.

2.

CONTRIBUTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES TO DESEGREGATION

As a vast connectional enterprise, The Methodist Church has established many boards, councils, commissions, etc., to carry out the connectional work of the church. These are referred to collectively as the "Administrative Agencies" of the church.⁴⁰ It has been indicated above that all such agencies are under the authority of the General Conference and that effective strategy by the General Conference will involve full use of the various channels of implementation and communication afforded by them. The General Conference has already, by implication if not specifically and in detail, authorized the Administrative Agencies to make full use of their various instrumentalities in support of desegregation.⁴¹

A detailed analysis of the possibilities of all of these agencies would, of course, extend beyond the range of a study such as this and would involve con-

siderable duplication as well. In this section, therefore, attention will be given only to (i) general strategies which would be possible to most of the agencies, and (ii) specific strategies which would represent unique contributions on the part of a few of the less obviously involved agencies. In three succeeding sections more detailed attention will be given to the more obviously involved agencies and movements.

i. General Strategies for Administrative Agencies

Since most of the agencies are staffed by paid employees and staff members, their personnel policies need to be determined with respect to racial discrimination or non-discrimination. A firm non-discriminatory policy on the part of all agencies would indicate unmistakably that the agency is fully in accord with the church's position in race relations and would have a certain symbolic value.

Most of the agencies also are involved in the frequent scheduling and programming of national meetings, conferences, workshops, and the like. Obedience to the Disciplinary recommendation "that Methodists at national and international meetings of the church make provision for equality of accommodations for all races, without discrimination or segregation"⁴² would have similar symbolic value. Further, such meetings, conducted interracially and directed toward the various concerns of the church could have great value in providing contact experiences. An illustration of a fairly effective policy on these points might be that of the Board of Evangelism, whose General Secretary writes that

we never have any annual meetings of the Board, Council of Evangelism, Christmas Conference, Conferences on Spiritual Birth and Growth, or Convocations unless the hostels and other places are integrated. Sometimes the churches are not integrated, but we try to do our part. Our weekly [staff] worship service in the Upper Room Chapel is integrated. Many integrated services and meetings are held in our building.⁴³

Most of the agencies also make frequent distributions of promotional literature. Promotional directors may often be able to include such things as interracial photographs, indicating that on the national level of the church integration is taken for granted as the normal and natural thing for the church. The section on mass media in Chapter Three above may provide some guidance here.

In a number of cases, it would also be possible for important boards and agencies to adopt resolutions and statements explicitly supporting desegregation. A good illustration of the possibilities here would be the resolution of the General Board of Evangelism of 1954 which supported the Supreme Court desegregation decision and called upon Methodists to work "toward bringing about a non-segregated

³⁹ This unpleasant conclusion, which the findings of Chapter Three would lead one to expect and which is sometimes suggested by Central Jurisdiction members, themselves, may function primarily on a sub-conscious level, producing in some leaders a difficult psychological conflict between personal interest and the interests of their group as a whole.

⁴⁰ *Discipline*, 1956, pp. 278ff.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, par. 2026, p. 724.

⁴² *Ibid.*, par. 2026, p. 724.

⁴³ Letter from Dr. Harry Denman, General Board of Evangelism, Nashville, Tenn., November 5, 1959.

social order and a nation where segregation will be completely eliminated."⁴⁴

ii. Unique Potential Contributions by Selected Agencies

The Council on World Service and Finance has great power in The Methodist Church as the agency responsible for disbursement of funds among the various concerns of the church.⁴⁵ Subject to approval by the General Conference, this agency prepares the quadrennial budget of the church: "it shall recommend to the General Conference, for its action and determination, a world service program outlining the general financial objectives of the church for the forthcoming quadrennium, and proposing the ratio distribution of world service funds among the participating agencies."⁴⁶ It also has wide powers relating to the approval of special financial appeals, the designation of conference apportionments, etc. Its powers suggest that it would have a key role in the preparation of a quadrennial emphasis program, as suggested above, and in undergirding agencies and programs which are actively engaged in supporting desegregation in the church. Further, the Council on World Service and Finance has authority to "require each world service agency to follow uniform policies and practices in the employment and remuneration of personnel, recognizing differences in local employment conditions."⁴⁷ This authority could be used to enforce non-discriminatory employment policies where this is necessary.

The Section of Church extension of the Division of National Missions would be in a position to encourage the erection of churches in interracial communities which could be, from the start, racially inclusive.⁴⁸ It might also influence congregations to remain in areas of rapid social change, becoming inclusive churches rather than attempting to avoid desegregation by relocating.

The Division of Educational Institutions of the Board of Education is charged with creating and maintaining within Methodist secondary schools, colleges, universities, and seminaries "an atmosphere . . . conducive to the development of a Christian philosophy of life."⁴⁹ While the authority of this agency is only advisory, it would be in a position to advise and counsel those institutions which still have policies of segregation. This could be one more form of pressure upon these institutions to revise their policies. Through its responsibility for promoting Race Relations Sunday this agency could also contribute through materials suggesting self-critical as distinct from paternalistic uses of this special empha-

sis. It could help to show that such special emphases ought to be used differently for different sections of the country. Thus, churches in the Deep South could be encouraged to use Race Relations Sunday for such initial interracial contacts as having guest preachers of another race or special interracial services, while churches in areas of less tension could give more definite attention to desegregation and actual community racial problems. Since a special emphasis such as Race Relations Sunday is easily used as a "ritual" means of salving the conscience of the church, the promotion of this event should emphasize that it should always be used to stimulate progress toward desegregation in ways appropriate to the various localities, and that penitence should be sought ahead of self-satisfaction and complacency.

The Division of Educational Institutions also has charge of most of the Negro educational institutions. The discussion of Negro "self-improvement" in Chapter Three would suggest that there is a continuing need for such institutions in areas where segregation precludes normal educational opportunities for Negroes. The work of most of the Negro colleges and other institutions has a distinguished history and needs to be encouraged. Nevertheless, care should, of course, be taken that such institutions do not themselves perpetuate segregation. Some of these institutions should be prepared to merge with presently all-white institutions, others to cease functioning when the time is ripe.

The University Senate is the "accrediting and standardizing agency for all the educational institutions related to The Methodist Church in the United States."⁵⁰ By setting non-segregation as a standard for its full accrediting, the Senate could bring considerable pressure to bear upon the various Methodist institutions which are segregated racially. While such a standard could hardly be justified from the purely academic point of view, it should be noted that the Senate's accreditation is more broadly based than upon purely academic standards. Its accreditation of Methodist institutions carries the connotation that the institutions are regarded by The Methodist Church as fulfilling the religious and moral standards of the Church as well as appropriate academic standards. Segregated institutions teach their students implicitly that racial segregation is not improper and are thus in open conflict with the teaching of The Methodist Church. Further, it could be held with some reason that such institutions deprive a student of important experiences in his own social training and are thus in violation of more general educational principles.⁵¹

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pars. 1382-1391, pp. 364-366.

⁵¹ These observations about accreditation would seem particularly relevant to theological education. At the present writing (1959) two of the Methodist seminaries, Emory and Duke, remain segregated despite frequent indications of readiness on the part of faculties and student bodies and despite the fact that some seminaries of other Protestant denominations located in the same region are already racially desegregated. According to some respected observers, desegregation of seminaries and colleges will be the first major breakthrough in the Deep South. Progress in this area could have great strategic importance.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ See *Discipline, 1956*, pars. 735-749, pp. 204-212.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, par. 737, p. 206.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, par. 1120, p. 283.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, par. 1235, pp. 318-319. Cf. *Annual Report of the Division of National Missions to the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Board of Missions* (Philadelphia, 1959), pp. 60-62, which discusses this problem.

⁴⁹ *Discipline, 1956*, par. 1351, pp. 153f.

The Board of Hospitals and Homes, while it does not own or operate any of the more than 200 hospitals and homes of The Methodist Church, does have broad advisory powers to formulate standards "to protect the aims and ideals of The Methodist Church" and to "encourage and assist institutions in attaining these standards."⁵² The rather bleak record of Methodist hospitals and homes in the area of race relations suggests that this function of the Board has not actively been used in connection with Methodist standards on race relations.⁵³ The Board could, however, render a valuable service by including racial desegregation among its emphasized standards and by making an effort to encourage the hospitals and homes to implement it.

These possible contributions are by no means exhaustive and may be suggestive of others.

3. CONTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS TO DESEGREGATION

On the national level The Methodist Church is responsible for the publication of two different kinds of periodical publications: the general church periodicals and the church school literature. Both have strategic importance.

i. General Church Periodicals

The Board of Publication of The Methodist Church publishes three principal general church periodicals. *Religion in Life* is published as a quarterly journal of high scholarly standards, with circulation largely among pastors and extending beyond The Methodist Church. The *Christian Advocate* (until recently, *The New Christian Advocate*) is published for pastors and church leaders, with content including church news and articles in theology, biblical study, church history, social ethics, psychology, and practical theology. It is sent free to every Methodist pastor. *Together* is the Methodist family magazine, with informative articles, news, stories, etc., pitched primarily on the lay level. The Board of Publication also publishes *Central Christian Advocate*, which serves the Central Jurisdiction alone.

Of these periodicals, the first two could render most strategic service in support of desegregation in two ways: first, through publication of factual articles of high quality which deal critically with the realities of prejudice, segregation, and related race relations issues, and which contribute an understanding of the problems of desegregation; and secondly, through publication of articles stressing the importance of the prophetic role of the minister as a measure of his competence. Since *Christian Advocate* is received by every Methodist pastor free of charge, articles of this

kind could be expected to have some influence upon the Methodist ministry.

Together, with its enormous national circulation⁵⁴ and attractive format, is in a natural position to utilize most of the conditions for successful mass persuasion discussed in Chapter Three. Such items as stories which encourage the reader to identify himself with persons of other races and pictures which depict persons of diverse racial background engaged in normal activities could be expected to have some educational value. The monthly feature, "Unusual Methodists," which pictures and describes Methodists who have made some unique contribution to the church or society, could occasionally pick out an outstanding Negro. These forms of coverage, which do not stress the interracial as the unusual but rather as the expected thing in The Methodist Church, could have value in encouraging the vast number of Methodists who read *Together* to regard integration as the expected pattern of race relations.⁵⁵

A problem in the strategic use of *Together* is suggested by the circulation figures for the various jurisdictions. As of November, 1959, the following were estimated:

Western Jurisdiction,	143,000
Central Jurisdiction,	4,000
Southeastern Jurisdiction,	122,000
Northeastern Jurisdiction,	221,000
North Central Jurisdiction,	336,000
South Central Jurisdiction,	178,000 ⁵⁶

The corresponding membership figures for these jurisdictions were (in 1956) Western, 577,515; Central, 352,980; Southeastern, 2,567,250; Northeastern, 1,899,067; North Central, 2,201,769; and South Central, 1,846,221.⁵⁷ Comparison of these sets of figures reveals unmistakably that the proportion of subscriptions to membership in the two southern jurisdictions lags far behind the Northeastern, North Central, and Western Jurisdictions. This may be another instance of great southern regional consciousness standing between southern churches and full participation in the life of the total church. And, although there is no clear evidence that this is so, it is possible that the felt need of the *Together* staff to extend its southern circulation may have an inhibiting effect upon its handling of race relations material. Nevertheless, *Together* could be an effective reminder to the 300,000 subscribers in the southern jurisdictions that Methodism has taken its stand along with most of the rest of

⁵⁴ The circulation of this magazine was estimated by its Editor in November of 1959 to be 1,004,000. Letter from Leland D. Case, Editor of *Together*, Chicago, November 4, 1959. This would mean about one copy printed and circulated for every ten members of The Methodist Church.

⁵⁵ The Editor of *Together* has reacted with emphasis against the use of the magazine for "propaganda." *Ibid.* It is possible that he may merely be reacting against deceit and dishonesty—which would be commendable. If, however, he is rejecting value-centered appeal which is openly committed to certain values and ideals in opposition to others, this would be a strange posture for the editor of a religious publication to find himself in. It must be noted here that the magazine has not been conspicuous in its defense of Methodist ideals in race relations, although it has published some constructive material.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Discipline*, 1956, par. 2199, p. 788.

⁵² *Discipline*, 1956, par. 1558, p. 410.

⁵³ A letter from the General Secretary of the Board (Chicago, November 4, 1959) does not contradict this conclusion.

organized Christianity for desegregation and that it regards the inclusive church as the normal expression of its beliefs in race relations.

The existence of *Central Christian Advocate* presents the strategist with something of a dilemma. On the one hand this distinctively Negro periodical may serve important functions in maintaining morale within the Central Jurisdiction, helping to marshal protest sentiment against all forms of racial segregation, and in preparing Negroes for desegregation. A characteristic feature of each issue, furthermore, is a section for each episcopal area within the Central Jurisdiction with news of its members and leaders and a message from its bishop. This personal touch doubtless has functional significance. On the other hand, however, *Central Christian Advocate* creates one more barrier to the full communion within the church. Its existence has obviously inhibited full promotion of *Together* within the jurisdiction since the total circulation of that publication is there only 4,000, of which 1,700 are sent free to Central Jurisdiction pastors.⁵⁸ This means that Central Jurisdiction members are not making use of one valuable means of preparation for desegregation through exposure to the life of the total church. The existence of this periodical also provides a handy excuse for those not desirous of increasing the Negro coverage in *Together*. Further, a publication such as *Central Christian Advocate* could conceivably function as a vested interest, tempting resistance to the abolition of the Central Jurisdiction in order to guarantee its own continued existence.

Fortunately, the local-interest function, which *Central Christian Advocate* now serves, could also be served by the "area supplements" which are filled with local news and inserted into the *Together* issues of many of the areas of the church. Use of these supplements with *Together* could fulfill most of the values now served by *Central Christian Advocate* without creating the same barriers.

ii. Church School Literature

As a vast educational enterprise, The Methodist Church is involved in large-scale preparation of literature for use in religious education. This material is prepared by the Editorial Division of the Board of Education and printed by the publishing house.

In utilizing the church school literature to support the Methodist position in race relations, the general principles of mass media discussed in Chapter Three would have broad applicability. This would include the value of interracial pictures, of stories encouraging identification with minority group members, and the like. Since such materials are generally designed for classroom situations provision could be made for the presentation and discussion of factual material on race relations. It would seem unnecessary to add that

such materials should be fully honest with the facts, although within the framework of genuine commitment to the official Methodist position in race relations as normative.

The findings discussed in Chapter Three would not lead one to expect that church school literature could, by itself, accomplish very much in the reduction of prejudice—particularly where it is used by prejudiced teachers. It can, however, be a resource of some value in the hands of unprejudiced teachers, and it can generally be another constant reminder that The Methodist Church officially rejects segregation as unchristian and expects its members to reject it also. Further, in some areas of the Deep South, church school literature is one of the few means of placing free discussion of the Christian position in race relations on the "agenda" within the average local church.

The general effectiveness, from this perspective, of almost any utilization of church school literature is attested by the warm opposition which it arouses among the extreme right-wing groups of the South. This opposition has, however, occasionally taken the form of direct pressure upon editorial personnel to weaken their use of materials supporting desegregation. That this pressure can be effective is indicated by the following statement by one Methodist pastor:

I was in Nashville recently, and while I was there I went to the Board of Education and I talked with one of the editors who would rather remain anonymous, and I said, "How is it that I cannot find any pictures [in church school literature] showing integration as a natural part of Christian living?"

"Oh," she said, "you're on a subject that really hits me close. You know, we have just had quite a go-around on that, but our editor-in-chief refuses, because he says, 'look at the stack of mail I have from the Southeast of our country, opposing any Negro faces integrated into our literature,' and he tells me that I don't have anything on the other side."⁵⁹

Effective strategy, on the national level, could hardly allow this kind of battle to be lost by default!

4. CONTRIBUTION OF SPECIAL NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO DESEGREGATION

Special organizations, such as those for youth and women, also function on the national level in The Methodist Church. Thus, as on the annual conference level, additional channels of support for desegregation which exploit the special characteristics of these various groups are made available. Attention here will be limited to youth and women's organizations since these are most active and because, as explained in the preceding chapter, these groups have

⁵⁸ The Methodist Church, . . . , *Interracial Conference Report*, Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec. 6-7, 1957, p. 42.

⁵⁹ The figures are from the previously cited letter from Editor Case.

been more naturally interested in supporting desegregation.

i. The National Conference of Methodist Youth

The various annual conference organizations of the Methodist Youth Fellowship are joined together on the national level into the National Conference of Methodist Youth.⁶⁰ While under the general sponsorship of the Divisions of the Local Church and of Educational Institutions of the Board of Education, the National Conference of Methodist Youth is granted a high degree of independence in providing channels for responsible leadership by the youth of the church themselves. Through its various conferences, projects, and publications it is in a good position to provide support and guidance for the efforts of annual conference and local church Methodist Youth Fellowship organizations. It could also encourage the merger of Central Jurisdiction fellowships with those of the geographical annual conferences insofar as these overlap in territory.

ii. Woman's Division of Christian Service

The Woman's Division of Christian Service,⁶¹ especially through its Department of Christian Social Relations, has undertaken more systematically through the years to forward desegregation in church and society than almost any other organization or agency in the church.⁶²

Among the activities designed to promote desegregation has been the rather novel attempt to secure ratification by annual conference, district, and local woman's organizations of a "Charter of Racial Policies."⁶³ The "Charter" begins with the theological basis for an emphatic rejection of all racial discrimination and segregation. It then outlines ten detailed policies designed to implement the basic beliefs with respect to the organization and program of the Division and the Woman's Society of Christian Service on all levels. The "Charter" was accompanied by a "Check List on Racial Policies" for local, district, and annual conference leaders of Woman's Societies and Wesleyan Service Guilds, giving these organizations an occasion for self-examination with respect to their own racial policies and contributions to desegregation. A statement said that

the Woman's Division of Christian Service calls with new urgency on the Jurisdiction and Con-

ference Woman's Societies of Christian Service to study the principles and policies stated in this charter, looking toward early ratification by each Jurisdiction and Conference. Such a ratification will constitute a commitment to work for the speedy implementation of those principles and policies within the bounds of a respective Jurisdiction or Conference.⁶⁴

By late 1957, according to the Executive Secretary of the Department of Christian Social Relations, the "Charter" had been ratified by every jurisdictional Woman's Society and by all but eight of the conference WSCS organizations.⁶⁵ Significantly, it was ratified even by the WSCS organization of the Mississippi Conference of the Southeastern Jurisdiction, by a reported vote of 129-62.⁶⁶

Among the values of this rather novel approach, a strategist might discern the following: (a) it has indicated unmistakably the full commitment of the national organization to racial desegregation; (b) it has carefully and comprehensively charted a program in which each local or conference group could have a significant part; (c) it has provided an opportunity for thorough self-examination and discussion of race relations in areas not accustomed to open discussion on such issues; and (d) it has encouraged full commitment. Needless to say, within this kind of framework much would depend upon the quality of "follow through," but this would appear to have been a useful beginning.

One of the most valuable contributions of the Woman's Division has doubtless been the sponsorship of study programs. Exploiting the greater opportunities and inclinations of women for study, the Division's study guides on race relations and other social problems have unquestionably contributed much latent support for desegregation.

Another recent strategy has been the holding of a series of interracial "Consultations" in 1958 designed to create a climate of freedom of communication in areas where this has proven difficult. This program involved several "saturation" workshops with carefully selected white and Negro women, where there was an opportunity for depth experiences in race relations and study of race relations problems. The number of people reached by this program (about 228) was small, however, and the workshops doubtless suffered from the usual difficulties of planned interracial gatherings whose purpose is examination of race relations problems.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ *Discipline, 1956*, pars. 1404-1406, pp. 369-372. Specific consideration of this organization will be limited because of the likelihood that the 1960 General Conference will make radical changes in its structure.

⁶¹ This organization, which is formally constituted as a division of the Board of Missions on the national level, represents the national level of the Woman's Society of Christian Service. See *Discipline, 1956*, pars. 1240-1258, pp. 322-335, for a description of the structure of this tightly-knit organization for women from the local to the national levels.

⁶² See Ruth L. Bartholomew, *Actions Speak Louder: Making Christian our Race Relations* (Cincinnati: Woman's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church, Literature Headquarters, 1957). This booklet describes the work of Methodist women in the area of race relations. See also *A Charter of Racial Policies* (New York: Woman's Division of Christian Service, 1957).

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* (Emphasis supplied.)

⁶⁵ The Methodist Church, . . . , *Interracial Conference Report*, Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec. 6-7, 1957, p. 30.

⁶⁶ See *Central Christian Advocate*, 130 (June 7, 1955), 18.

⁶⁷ See *A Summary Report of the Consultations of 1958* (mimeographed, New York: Woman's Division of Christian Service, 1958), for a complete discussion of these workshops. It should be noted here again that interracial experiences have proven most valuable when directed toward some common purpose outside the realm of race relations problems, letting these emerge more naturally and with less embarrassment. Of the other problems, probably the most conspicuous is the ever-present temptation to let such well-organized conferences serve a ritual function of easing consciences troubled by inaction.

Strategically speaking, however, much support for desegregation will accrue from the continuation by the Woman's Division of its creative efforts to deal with this problem.

5. THE BOARD OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The General Board of Social and Economic Relations has a unique place in strategic planning in The Methodist Church because it is specifically designed as an agency for the implementation of official Methodist positions on social and economic issues.⁶⁸ As suggested by the summary of its major activities in race relations in Chapter One above, this agency has (a) publicized the Methodist position on race relations and its biblical background, (b) supported initiation of specific social concern commissions on the annual conference and local levels, (c) attempted to facilitate communication between predominantly white and Negro conferences looking toward eventual transfers and mergers under Amendment IX, (d) initiated a vast effort to encourage free communication, discussion, and study on race relations problems in The Methodist Church (through the various Interracial Leadership Conferences, etc.), and (e) attempted informally to exert influence through personal contact and discussion with Methodist leaders designed to improve the race relations situation in The Methodist Church.

Without losing sight of the real contributions which the Board of Social and Economic Relations has made or is beginning to make in these various areas, a strategic appraisal of its program might suggest some points of deficiency. For example, program activities and publications of the agency have frequently given evidence of the assumption that if people can just be induced to sit down together and talk over their differences in an atmosphere conducive to the allaying of latent fears this would be the best way to achieve progress in race relations. It often seems to be assumed that Methodists are united in their basic commitments, that all are equally sincere, but that most of the disagreements on problems such as segregation are sincere differences of opinion. Thus, under the heading, "An Invitation to a Frank Inquiry," the study book *The Road to Brotherhood* begins with these lines:

Methodists are one people but we do not all think alike. We do love Our Lord and desire to do His will, but just now we are not all agreed as to what He would have us do in race relations.

.....
This symposium on race is a daringly unique book as it sets before the Church the views of writers whose positions and statements are often contradictory. These men are sincere Christians who are living with the problems about which

they write. They have been given freedom to set forth their views, even though in some cases these views are not in harmony with the pronouncements of the General Conference of The Methodist Church.⁶⁹

Criticisms of the assumptions set forth here would be that they do not do justice either to the fact that very few people could be regarded as perfectly sincere Christians in the sense that they never substitute loyalty to sub-Christian values to Christian commitment or to the social pressures and group conflicts which so largely sustain segregation. In the light of these factors, it would seem important strategically, as has been suggested elsewhere in this dissertation, to sustain a clear image of what The Methodist Church (supported, as Chapter Two has indicated, by the vast consensus of Christian opinion and the basic sources of Christian belief) considers to be the authentically Christian position in race relations.

The problem, thus, with basing strategy on those assumptions would be that they could result in the dilution of the clear moral leadership of the church, a weakening of the church's most important strategic asset. *The Road to Brotherhood*, which contains a chapter supporting "the doctrine of separate but equal opportunities for all races," which crosses the General Conference statement on race at several points, could hardly help serving as a source of confusion and ambiguity in the racial crisis areas where many people are seeking moral guidance and support from their church.⁷⁰ It would seem that, of all the agencies of the church, the Board of Social and Economic Relations is the one which should most clearly show that it is not neutral on the issue of racial segregation. As the agency specifically charged with social witness and action, the Board is granted a high degree of flexibility and strength in speaking out decisively on controversial social issues in the name of The Methodist Church.

It could be noted finally that there are limits to the amount of reliance which the Board should place on its interracial leadership conferences. In the main, careful study of the reports of these conferences reveals their very positive effect in a number of strategic directions. In many cases interracial contact between leaders was achieved almost for the first time. Opportunity was given and used for group problem-solving of important issues in race relations. Valuable sociological information was made available. Like-minded persons were strengthened in their own witness by their association with one another. And so on. The

⁶⁸ The Methodist Church, . . . , *The Road to Brotherhood* . . . , p. 3.

⁷⁰ The point was made by one of the liberal contributors to the book—who agrees emphatically with the Methodist position himself—that the inclusion of the "separate but equal" chapter was necessary for the remainder of the book to get a hearing in the Deep South. Interview, Boston, Oct. 26, 1959. Beyond question there is much truth in this observation. However, the question remains whether the total effect of the use of the book will tend to support desegregation or to provide an opening for persons who do not wish to face segregation as a fundamental denial of Christian values. Perhaps, in other words, it would be better strategically if the book did not get a hearing!

⁶⁸ See *Discipline*, 1956, par. 1547, p. 407.

principal limitations would, again, be the danger that such conferences may serve the "ritual" function of satisfying the need for action and the fact that the interracial contact was focused upon race relations problems rather than upon other common purposes and problems. There was, however, throughout the conferences, considerable evidence that delegates felt the importance of adequate "follow through," and the educational significance of this large-scale venture for the whole church ought not to be underrated.

6. SUMMARY

In this chapter it has been pointed out that the connectional unity of The Methodist Church on the national level presents the possibility of a concerted strategy by the denomination itself to abolish segregation in the church. Concerted denominational strategy can do much to strengthen the strategic efforts on the local and annual conference levels as discussed in Chapters Four and Five. On the national level vast institutional resources are available to aid local and annual conference leaders in preparing Methodists everywhere for desegregation. More important even than these resources, however, is the establishment of clear lines of national policy and objective which can provide a coherent reference structure within which Methodists can work meaningfully for desegregation. Such a structure supports desegregation by establishing that attitudes and actions favor-

able to desegregation are to be expected of Methodists as Methodists and Christians.

Various legislative and program possibilities have particular strategic promise on the national level. The General Conference, by speeding the abolition of the Central Jurisdiction on every connectional level, may help to establish the desegregated annual conference, the importance of which was discussed in Chapter Five. The full mobilization of the resources of the church by the General Conference, possibly through a quadrennial emphasis program devoted to desegregation and interracial ministry, promises strategic dividends in terms of the establishment of a clear denominational frame of reference, of provision for the technical problems involved in transfers of churches and mergers of congregations, of concentration of financial resources adequate to the problems of desegregation and of an expanding ministry in interracial areas, and of full use of the appropriate resources of the administrative agencies, publications, and other general channels of the church.

Analysis of the administrative agencies, publications, special organizations, and the specific social action agency, the Board of Social and Economic Relations, reveals many points where the findings of the present study could be utilized with strategic effect. In some cases it has been found that agencies have for some time been involved in strategically effective work. But some mistakes have been made, and the whole effort of the church on the denominational level has yet to achieve its full potentiality.



Chapter Seven

Conclusions

This study has represented an attempt to plan an effective strategy for racial desegregation in The Methodist Church. It has been assumed throughout that an effective strategy must be consistent with (1) the stated and appropriate goal of The Methodist Church for racial desegregation, (2) appropriate ethical presuppositions, (3) the findings of the social sciences relative to the causal factors supporting segregation and to the most effective means of combatting segregation, (4) limitations and possibilities inherent in the various institutional structures of The Methodist Church, and (5) limitations and possibilities suggested by the relationship between The Methodist Church and the wider community and culture of which it is a part.

In a study such as this research is focused toward the solving of a complex of strategic problems rather than toward the formulation of specific conclusions. Nevertheless, the following propositions could be expressed as important general conclusions justified by this study:

(1) *The findings of the social sciences are relevant to the problem of desegregation in The Methodist Church.* At no point in this inquiry has evidence emerged to suggest that this is not so. Rather, the findings concerning the nature of and causal factors involved in racial segregation and concerning strategic approaches to abolishing segregation have broadly illuminated the problem of desegregation in the church. This suggests that, *with respect to its involvement in racial segregation*, a religious institution, such as The Methodist Church, is not greatly dissimilar to other social institutions which have been studied by the social sciences. It also indicates that the vast amount of research on these problems by the social sciences in recent years has achieved a high degree of generality.

(2) *The addition of appropriate ethical qualifications actually enhances the over-all effectiveness of strategy.* This is basically true because ethical discipline helps the strategist to avoid using strategies which may ultimately contradict his total objectives. The problem of strategic self-contradiction by religious institutions is especially subtle since the total objectives of such institutions, at least when they are Christian, include universal goals relating to the welfare of all human life. Ethical discipline helps to

keep these universal goals free from contradiction by the short term proximate goals required in strategy and by the means used to accomplish these. Further, the addition of appropriate ethical principles provides a normative setting in which the strategist can relate himself frankly and clearly to his own values and the strategic problems, so that he avoids the extremes of too much impatience and too much complacency.

(3) *Effective strategy on each level of the church considered requires a variety of strategic actions which are interactive and mutually supportive.* Included are strategies emphasizing the changing of attitudes and those emphasizing direct changes of social patterns and institutions through active intervention. Frequently, changes in attitude have been found to follow rather than precede changes in patterns and institutions, although some modification of attitude is often necessary prior to direct intervention.

(4) *There is no valid ethical ground for categorical insistence upon restricting strategy to techniques of persuasion and "education" in the removal of racial barriers in the church*, notwithstanding the common assertions to the contrary. The very existence of such barriers is not ethical, and the racial composition of the membership and basis of participation in the church is not properly a matter requiring the consent of persons in the church. This would also be the case constitutionally in The Methodist Church.

(5) *Techniques which compromise the fundamental commitment of the church to its appropriate goal of desegregation are both ethically and strategically suspect.* Such techniques may imply that the church is willing to settle for incomplete desegregation and that it shares, in part, the valuations which support segregation. The clear moral appeal of the church, if used strategically and with integrity, can have much value in defining the religious reference system within which its members are expected to find behavioral orientation. Moral appeal has been found to be of particular value in ambiguous situations in which valuations have generally become unsettled.

(6) *The various connectional levels of The Methodist Church are, if appropriately utilized, ideally structured for the formulation of a strategic approach focusing the wider connectional resources and au-*

thority upon the local church. The annual conference level is well defined for various functions supporting desegregation on the local church level. The national level is well organized for various functions supporting desegregation on the annual conference and local church levels. In the church, the offices of minister and bishop are particularly strategic if they are used appropriately.

(7) *Effective strategy in The Methodist Church seems particularly weakened by a general inability to conceive of creative uses of conflict and controversy within the fellowship of the church.* "Harmony" and "unity" have often been overemphasized to the exclusion of other important values which define the nature of the church, with the result that harmony and unity are themselves sometimes more apparent than real. In this situation there is a danger that strategic efforts to change the *status quo* of racial segregation will be interpreted as disruptions of the fellowship rather than as desirable creative innovation in harmony with the basic values of the church.

(8) *There is a real place in The Methodist Church for creative protest on the part of Negroes, particularly on the national level.* It is strategically important that Negroes help to keep the matter of segregation on the mind and conscience of the church until it has been completely abolished. There is danger, however, that the force of Negro protest may be dissipated by the attachment of some Negro leaders to the personal privileges occasioned them by segregation and by the general inability of others to focus upon realistic strategic objectives.

(9) *The Amendment IX voluntary strategy for desegregation, now being followed by The Methodist Church, has in effect been nullified by resistance to its use by the top leadership of the Central Jurisdiction.* For various reasons these leaders have seen fit to discourage the transfer of institutions out of the Central Jurisdiction and into the five geographical jurisdictions as permitted by Amendment IX. This suggests that more concern needs to be given to the realistic institutional problems occasioned by the transfers and

that completely permissive procedures should be replaced by more direct legislation in abolishing the Central Jurisdiction.

(10) *Special organizations within the church, such as youth and women's groups, are in a position to exploit the fact that, for various reasons, these groups of people are more inclined to support desegregation.* This is particularly true of groups for youth and women, and the fact that these groups are well organized on all levels of The Methodist Church has much strategic significance.

(11) *Techniques commonly used by agencies within the church for purposes of education and the cultivation of brotherhood often run the risk of serving the "ritual function" of helping people to ease their consciences without contributing very much to desegregation.* This danger can be noted in connection with interracial workshops and conferences. Effective strategy, while often utilizing such techniques, must specifically guard against this danger.

(12) *In virtually every situation in The Methodist Church there are unique possibilities for progress in race relations.* Effective strategy attempts to utilize the best available insights in ways which are specifically relevant to the unique situation. Situations, for example, in the Deep South will be quite different from those in northern cities, but progress can effectively be made in either. Thus, virtually every Methodist is in a position to do *something* to advance desegregation. An important ethical test is whether Methodists everywhere will rise to their opportunities to do the best they can in their various specific situations.

While this study has been limited to the problem of achieving desegregation in The Methodist Church, it is possible that the general methodological approach utilized here could be applied to other strategic problems. Systematic planning of strategy by committed Christians may give new relevance to the concern of the church for problems in such diverse areas as economic life, civil rights, and international affairs.



Bibliography

- ADORNO, T. W., FRENKEL-BRUNSWIK, ELSE, LEVINSON, DANIEL J., AND SANFORD, R. NEVITT. *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.
- ALLEN, JOSEPH L. "Judgment and Redemption in Race Relations." *The Perkins School of Theology Journal*, 11 (Spring, 1958), 9-14.
- ALLPORT, GORDON W. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954.
- ANON. "The Central Jurisdiction Controversy." *Christian Advocate*, 130 (Jan. 20, 1955), 11-12.
- . *Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis*. Atlanta, Ga.: Southern Regional Council and others, 1959.
- . "Segregation in The Methodist Church." *Central Christian Advocate*, 131 (June 15, 1956), 9-10.
- APTHEKER, HERBERT. *The Negro People in America*. New York: International Publishers, 1946.
- ASCH, S. E. "Effects of Group Pressure upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgments," in *Readings in Social Psychology*, edited by Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley. 3d ed. revised. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1958.
- BARRETT, J. PAUL. *The Church and Segregation*. Augusta, Ga.: Richmond County Chapter, States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc., 1955.
- BARTHOLOMEW, RUTH L. *Actions Speak Louder: Making Christian Our Race Relations*. Cincinnati: Woman's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church, Literature Headquarters, 1957.
- BEACH, WALDO. "The Racial Crisis and the Prophet's Task." *The New Christian Advocate*, 1 (Aug., 1957), 28-32.
- THE BIBLE. Revised Standard Version. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1952.
- BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS (ED.). *Religious Bodies and the Supreme Court Decision*. Atlanta, Ga.: Southern Regional Council, 1957. (Mimeographed.)
- BLUMER, HERBERT G. "Reflections on Theory of Race Relations," in *Race Relations in World Perspective*, edited by Andrew W. Lind. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1955.
- BOSLEY, HAROLD A. *Preaching on Controversial Issues*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953.
- BOWEN, J. W. E. AND OTHERS. *Statement of the College of Bishops of the Central Jurisdiction*. N.p.: Central Jurisdiction of The Methodist Church, 1957.
- BRAWLEY, JAMES PHILIP. "Central Jurisdiction Issue: How the Negro Views It." *Christian Advocate*, 131 (Jan. 26, 1956), 9, 29-30.
- . "Christianity, Democracy and Segregation." *Christian Advocate*, 131 (Jan. 12, 1956), 11-12, 29-30.
- . "Planned Developmental Programs in Methodist Integration." *Central Christian Advocate*, 131 (May 1, 1956), 8, 22.
- BREARLEY, H. C. "The Nature of Social Control," in *Social Control*, edited by Joseph S. Roucek. Toronto, New York, London: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1947.
- BRIGHTMAN, EDGAR SHEFFIELD. *Moral Laws*. New York and Chicago: Abingdon Press, 1933.
- BROCK, EDWIN L. "Methodism's Growing Cleavage." *The Christian Century*, 72 (Aug. 24, 1955), 921-922.
- BROWN, ROBERT R. *Bigger than Little Rock*. Greenwich, Conn.: The Seabury Press, S. P. C. K., 1958.
- Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Shawnee County, Kansas*. 347 U. S., 483, 491 (May 17, 1954).
- BUCKLEY, JAMES M. *A History of Methodism in the United States*. Vol. II. New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897.
- BUREAU OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS RESEARCH, Evanston, Ill. *Indiana Racial Study*. Chicago: The Methodist Church, General Board of Social and Economic Relations, 1957 (Mimeographed.)
- CAMPBELL, ERNEST Q. AND PETTIGREW, THOMAS F. *Christians in Racial Crisis: A Study of Little Rock's Ministry*. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959.
- CAYTON, HORACE R. "The Psychology of the Negro under Discrimination," in *Race Prejudice and Discrimination: Readings in Intergroup Relations in the United States*, edited by Arnold M. Rose. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.
- CENTRAL JURISDICTION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH. *Report of the Commission to Study the Central Jurisdiction*. N.p.: Central Jurisdiction, 1956.
- CHARTERS, W. W., JR., AND NEWCOMB, THEODORE M. "Some Attitudinal Effects of Experimentally Increased Salience of a Membership Group," in *Readings in Social Psychology*, edited by Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley. 3d ed. revised. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1958.
- A Charter of Racial Policies*. New York: Woman's Division of Christian Service, 1957.

- THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF SOUTH AFRICA. *Race—What Does the Bible Say?: A Report Prepared by the Commission to Investigate the Teaching of the Bible on Race Questions*. Heidelberg, Transvaal, South Africa: The Christian Council of South Africa, 1952.
- COOK, CLAIR M. *The Modern Samaritan: A Handbook on Christian Social Relations*. Chicago: General Board of Social and Economic Relations of The Methodist Church, 1956.
- COOPER, ALLEN LAMAR. "The Churches Speak." *The Perkins School of Theology Journal*, 11 (Spring, 1958), 35-43.
- COOPER, EUNICE, AND JAHODA, MARIE. "The Evasion of Propaganda: How Prejudiced People Respond to Anti-Prejudice Propaganda." *Journal of Psychology*, 23 (Jan., 1947), 15-25.
- CULVER, DWIGHT W. *Negro Segregation in The Methodist Church*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
- CUNINGGIM, MERRIMON. "The Southern Temper." *The Perkins School of Theology Journal*, 11 (Spring, 1958), 23-29.
- CURL, R. F. "The Role of the American Churches." *The Perkins School of Theology Journal*, 11 (Spring, 1958), 29-35.
- DEAN, JOHN P., AND ROSEN, ALEX. *A Manual of Inter-group Relations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.
- DESCHNER, JOHN. "Segregation and the Minister's Faith." *The Perkins School of Theology Journal*, 11 (Spring, 1958), 4-9.
- DEXTER, HARRIET HARMON. *What's Right with Race Relations*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958.
- DIXON, WILLIAM EDGE. "Ministerial Leadership in the Central Jurisdiction of The Methodist Church." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University Graduate School, 1955.
- DODSON, DANIEL. "The Creative Role of Conflict in Intergroup Relations." Speech delivered to the Eleventh Annual Conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 20-22, 1957. (Mimeographed.)
- DODSON, THURMAN L. "The Central Jurisdiction—Shall we swap it for another island of segregation?" *Central Christian Advocate*, 130 (June 1, 1955), 7-8.
- DOLLARD, JOHN. *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*. 3d ed. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1957 (1937).
- DRAKE, ST. CLAIR, AND CAYTON, HORACE R. *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1945.
- DYKEMAN, WILMA, AND STOKELY, JAMES. *Neither Black Nor White*. New York and Toronto: Rinehart and Co., 1957.
- EDMONDS, RICHARD W. *Segregation: Is It Justified?* Columbus, Ga.: Muscogee Publishing Co., 1957.
- FLOWERMAN, SAMUEL H. "Mass Propaganda in the War Against Bigotry." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. (October, 1947), 429-439.
- FRAZIER, EDWARD FRANKLIN. *Black Bourgeoisie*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957.
- "The Negro's Vested Interest in Segregation," in *Race Prejudice and Discrimination: Readings in Intergroup Relations in the United States*, edited by Arnold M. Rose. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.
- GILLESPIE, G. T. *A Christian View on Segregation*. Greenwood, Mass.: Association of Citizens' Councils, 1954.
- GINZBERG, ELI. *The Negro Potential*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956.
- HACKETT, ALLAN. "Let Us Worship Him Together." *Social Action*, 25 (January, 1959), 14.
- HANKINS, FRANK H. "Social Discrimination," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934.
- HARDING, JOHN, AND OTHERS. "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, edited by Gardner Lindzey. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954.
- HARMON, NOLAN B. *The Organization of The Methodist Church: Historic Development and Present Working Structure*. 2d ed. revised. Nashville, etc.: The Methodist Publishing House, 1953 (1948).
- "Our Jurisdictional Organization—With a forward-looking suggestion." *Christian Advocate*, 131 (April 5, 1956), 6ff.
- HARRELL, COSTON J. "The Philosophy of the Jurisdictional Structure." *Wesleyan Christian Advocate*. (Aug. 7, 1958), 3.
- HASELDEN, KYLE. *The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959.
- HOVLAND, CARL I. "Effects of the Mass Media of Communication," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, edited by Gardner Lindzey. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954.
- HUGHES, EMMET JOHN. "The Negro's New Economic Life." *Fortune* (Sept., 1956), 127ff.
- HYMAN, HERBERT H., AND SHEATSLEY, PAUL B. "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail," in *Readings in Social Psychology*, edited by Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley. 3d ed. revised. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1958.
- JAMES, WELDON. "The South's Own Civil War," in *With all Deliberate Speed: Segregation-Desegregation in Southern Schools*, edited by Don Shoemaker. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957.

- Joint Commission on Unification of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. *Proceedings*, III. New York: 1920.
- JORDAN, DAVID MORRIS. *Gradual Racial Integration in the [sic] Methodist Church*. Indianapolis, Ind.: by the author, n.d. (1959?).
- KECSKEMETI, PAUL. "The Psychological Theory of Prejudice." *Commentary*, 18 (Oct., 1954), 359-366.
- KING, MARTIN LUTHER, JR. *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958.
- KRAMER, ALFRED S. "Patterns of Racial Inclusion Among Selected Congregations of Three Protestant Denominations: An Analysis of the Processes through which Congregations of Protestant Denominations have Included Persons of Racial and Cultural Minority Groups." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1955.
- LASSWELL, HAROLD D. "Legislative Policy, Conformity and Psychiatry," in *Psychiatry and the Law*, edited by Paul H. Hoch and Joseph Zubin. New York and London: Greene and Stratton, 1955.
- LEFLAR, ROBERT A. "Law of the Land," in *With All Deliberate Speed: Segregation—Desegregation in Southern Schools*, edited by Don Shoemaker. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957.
- LEIFFER, MURRAY H. "Segregation in Churches." *Christian Advocate*, 131 (March 15, 1956), 10ff.
- LIND, ANDREW W. (ED.). *Race Relations in World Perspective*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1955.
- LOESCHER, FRANK S. *The Protestant Church and the Negro*. New York: Association Press, 1948.
- LOTH, DAVID, AND FLEMMING, HAROLD. *Integration, North and South*. New York: Fund for the Republic, 1956.
- MACCOBY, ELEANOR E., NEWCOMB, THEODORE M., AND HARTLEY, EUGENE L. *Readings in Social Psychology*. 3d ed. revised. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1958.
- MCGILL, RALPH. "The Agony of the Southern Minister." *The New York Times Magazine*, Sept. 27, 1959, pp. 16ff.
- MACIVER, ROBERT MORRISON. *The More Perfect Union: A Program for the Control of Intergroup Discrimination in the United States*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948.
- McKEE, JAMES B. "Community Power and Strategies in Race Relations: Some Critical Observations." *Social Problems*, 6 (Winter, 1958-1959), 195-203.
- MARTIN, JOHN BARTLOW. *The Deep South Says Never*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1957.
- MASTON, T. B. *Segregation and Desegregation: A Christian Approach*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959.
- MERTON, ROBERT K. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. 3d ed. revised. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957.
- THE METHODIST CHURCH. *Annual Report of the Division of National Missions to the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Board of Missions*. Philadelphia: By the Division, 1959.
- *Daily Christian Advocate: Proceedings of the General Conference of The Methodist Church*, 3 (1948).
- *Daily Christian Advocate: Proceedings of the General Conference of The Methodist Church*, 4 (1952).
- *Daily Christian Advocate: Proceedings of the General Conference of The Methodist Church*, 5 (1956).
- *Doctrines and Discipline of The Methodist Church*, 1939. New York: Methodist Publishing House, 1939.
- *Doctrines and Discipline of The Methodist Church*, 1952. New York: Methodist Publishing House, 1952.
- *Doctrines and Discipline of The Methodist Church*, 1956. New York: Methodist Publishing House, 1957.
- *Journal of the 1948 General Conference of The Methodist Church*. Nashville: Methodist Publishing House, 1948.
- *Journal of the 1952 General Conference of The Methodist Church*. Nashville: Methodist Publishing House, 1952.
- *Journal of the 1956 General Conference of The Methodist Church*. Nashville: Methodist Publishing House, 1956.
- *Journal of the United Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the Methodist Protestant Church*, 1939. New York: Methodist Publishing House, 1939.
- *Report to the 1960 General Conference of The Methodist Church by the Commission for Study and Action on the Jurisdictional System*. N.p.: By the Commission, 1959.
- THE METHODIST CHURCH, GENERAL BOARD OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS. *The Bible Speaks on Race*. Chicago: Board of Social and Economic Relations, n.d.
- *The Methodist Church and Race*. Chicago: Board of Social and Economic Relations, 1957.
- *Conference on Human Relations, February 11-13, 1958, Glendale, California*. Chicago: By the Board, 1958. (Mimeographed.)
- *Report of Interracial Leadership Conference, Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida, Sept. 10-11, 1957*. Chicago: By the Board, 1957. (Mimeographed.)

- Report of Bishops' Conference on Brotherhood, Jamaica, New York, Sept. 25, 1956.* Chicago: By the Board, 1956. (Mimeographed.)
- Report of Interracial Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, Jan. 28-29, 1957.* Chicago: By the Board, 1957. (Mimeographed.)
- Report of Interracial Leadership Conference, Baltimore, Maryland, Dec. 3-4, 1956.* Chicago: By the Board, 1957. (Mimeographed.)
- Report of Interracial Leadership Conference, Detroit, Michigan, April 29-30, 1957.* Chicago: By the Board, 1957. (Mimeographed.)
- Report of Interracial Leadership Conference, Indianapolis, Indiana, May 1-2, 1957.* Chicago: By the Board, 1957. (Mimeographed.)
- Report of Interracial Leadership Conference, Kansas City, Missouri, Oct. 23-24, 1956.* Chicago: By the Board, 1957. (Mimeographed.)
- Report of Interracial Leadership Conference, Louisville, Kentucky, Nov. 15-16, 1956.* Chicago: By the Board, 1957. (Mimeographed.)
- Report of Interracial Leadership Conference, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Dec. 6-7, 1957.* Chicago: By the Board, 1958. (Mimeographed.)
- Report of Interracial Leadership Conference, St. Louis, Missouri, May 9-10, 1957.* Chicago: By the Board, 1957. (Mimeographed.)
- Report of Interracial Leadership Conference, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Feb. 23-24, 1956.* Chicago: By the Board, 1956. (Mimeographed.)
- Report of Milwaukee Follow Up Interracial Conference, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, April 19, 1958.* Chicago: By the Board, 1958. (Mimeographed.)
- Report, Ohio Methodist Interracial Conference, Columbus, Ohio, April 2, 3, and 4, 1959.* Chicago: By the Board, 1959. (Mimeographed.)
- Report of the Texas Methodist Conference on Human Relations, Austin, Texas, Sept. 12-13, 1957.* Chicago: By the Board, 1957. (Mimeographed.)
- The Road to Brotherhood: Views on Race Relations with Resources and Suggestions for Action.* Chicago: By the Board, 1959.
- Summary of Interracial Leadership Conferences.* Chicago: By the Board, n.d. (1959?).
- THE METHODIST CHURCH, CENTRAL JURISDICTION. *Daily Christian Advocate: Official Publication of the Central Jurisdictional Conference of The Methodist Church—1956.*
- THE METHODIST CHURCH, CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RELATIONS. *The Message from Methodist Conference on Human Relations, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, August 31 to September 4, 1959.* Chicago: By the Conference Office, 1959.
- MISSISSIPPI ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH. *Journal, 1959 Session, Mississippi Conference, The Methodist Church, Southeastern Jurisdiction.* Jackson, Miss.: By the Conference, 1959.
- MYRDAL, GUNNAR. *An American Dilemma.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.
- NEWCOMB, THEODORE M. "Attitude Development as a Function of Reference Groups: The Bennington Study," in *Readings in Social Psychology*, edited by Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley. 3d ed. revised. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1958.
- NICHOLS, JAMES HASTINGS. *Evanston: An Interpretation.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954.
- NORTHROP, HERBERT R. *Organized Labor and the Negro.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.
- NORTHWOOD, LAWRENCE K. "Ecological and Attitudinal Factors in Church Desegregation." *Social Problems*, 6 (Fall, 1958), 150-163.
- ODUM, HOWARD W., AND JOCHER, KATHERINE. *In Search of the Regional Balance of America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945.
- OLDHAM, JOSEPH HOULDSWORTH. *Christianity and the Race Problem.* New York: George H. Doran Company, 1924.
- OXNAM, G. BROMLEY. "The State of the Church." *Daily Christian Advocate: Northeastern Jurisdictional Conference of the Methodist Church*, 5 (June 14, 1956), 1-7.
- PARSONS, TALCOTT. *The Social System.* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951.
- PATON, DAVID M. (ED.). *Church and Race in South Africa: Papers from South Africa, illustrating the churches' search for the will of God.* London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1958.
- PLEASANTS, DAVID M. "Ought the Central Jurisdiction Be Abolished?" *Central Christian Advocate*, 134 (July 1, 1959), 7.
- POPE, LISTON. *The Kingdom Beyond Caste.* New York: Friendship Press, 1957.
- PRICE, MARGARET. *The Negro and the Ballot in the South.* Atlanta, Ga.: Southern Regional Council, 1959.
- The Negro Voter in the South.* Atlanta, Ga.: Southern Regional Council, 1957.
- RANDOLPH, A. PHILIP. "Discrimination Against Minorities," in *Labor's Relation to Church and Community*, edited by Liston Pope. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947.
- REEVES, THOMAS. "Methodist Layman's Union Vic-tim." *The Christian Century*, 76 (Sept. 2, 1959), 995.
- RICHARDSON, ALAN AND SCHWEITZER, WOLFGANG (ED.). *Biblical Authority for Today.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1951.

- ROSE, ARNOLD M. (ED.). *Race Prejudice and Discrimination: Readings in Intergroup Relations in the United States*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.
- ROUCEK, JOSEPH E. (ED.). *Social Control*. Toronto, New York, and London: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1947.
- SELAH, W. B. "The Doctrine of Separate but Equal Opportunities for All Races," in *The Road to Brotherhood*. Chicago: General Board of Social and Economic Relations of The Methodist Church, 1958.
- SELIGMAN, EDWIN R. A. (ED.). *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934.
- SHIPPEY, FREDERICK A. *Trends Within the Central Jurisdiction, 1940-1958: A Report Prepared for the Commission for Study and Action on the Jurisdictional System*. N.p.: By the Commission, 1959.
- SHOEMAKER, DON (ED.). *With All Deliberate Speed: Segregation-Desegregation in Southern Schools*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957.
- SHRADER, WESLEY. "Segregation in the Churches." *Esquire* (May, 1958), 20.
- SHULER, FRANK E., JR. "Techniques and Resources," in *The Road to Brotherhood: Views on Race Relations with Resources and Suggestions for Action*. Chicago: General Board of Social and Economic Relations of The Methodist Church, 1958.
- SIMPSON, GEORGE EATON, AND YINGER, J. MILTON. *Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination*. 2d edition revised. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958.
- SINGH, SURGIT. "Nation and Race," in *Biblical Authority for Today*, edited by Alan Richardson and Wolfgang Schweitzer. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1951.
- SMITH, HELENA HUNTINGTON. "Mrs. Tilly's Crusade." *Colliers* (December 30, 1950), 29, 66-67.
- SOPER, EDMUND DAVISON. *Racism: A World Issue*. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947.
- Southeastern Jurisdiction College of Bishops and Executive Committee. "Statement of the College of Bishops of the Southeastern Jurisdiction and the Southeastern Jurisdiction Executive Committee to the Panel Studying the Jurisdictional System in The Methodist Church." 1957. (Mimeographed.)
- Southern Regional Council. *A Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60*. Atlanta, Ga.: Southern Regional Council, 1959. (Mimeographed.)
- Southern School News*, 1 (1954-55).
- Southern School News*, 5 (1958-59).
- Southern School News*, 6 (1959-).
- STOFFER, SAMUEL A. *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties*. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1955.
- STRAUGHN, JAMES HENRY. *Inside Methodist Union*. Nashville: The Methodist Publishing House, 1958.
- SUCHMAN, EDWARD A., DEAN, JOHN P., AND WILLIAMS, ROBIN M., JR. *Desegregation: Some Propositions and Research Suggestions*. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1958.
- A Summary Report of the Consultations of 1958*. New York: Woman's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church, 1958. (Mimeographed.)
- SWEET, WILLIAM WARREN. *Methodism in American History*. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: The Methodist Book Concern, 1933.
- "Ten Years of Methodist Advance under Bishop John Wesley Lord." *Boston Sunday Herald* (Rotogravure Section, May 25, 1958), 12.
- THOMAS, JAMES S. "After the Central Jurisdiction—What?" *Central Christian Advocate*, 130 (July 15, 1955), 4ff.
- TILSON, EVERETT. *Segregation and the Bible*. New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958.
- Together*, 3 (January, 1959).
- United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. *The Race Question in Modern Science*. New York: Whiteside, Inc., 1956.
- VANDER ZANDEN, JAMES WILFRED. "The Southern White Resistance Movement to Integration." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1957.
- VISSEER 'T HOOFT, W. A. "The Bible in an Ecumenical Setting." *The Student World*, 49 (Fall, 1956), 48ff.
- (ed.). *The Evanston Report: The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955.
- WALKER, E. JERRY. "When Negroes Came to Our Church." *Christian Advocate*, 130 (July 28, 1955), 6.
- WARD A. DUDLEY. "The Problem that Besets Us." *Christian Advocate*, 138 (Sept. 8, 1955), 6ff.
- WASSON, ALFRED W. "Race and the World Mission of the Church." *The Perkins School of Theology Journal*, 11 (Spring, 1958), 43-48.
- WEAVER, GALEN R. "Racial Practices in Congregational Christian Churches." *Social Action*, 25 (Jan., 1959), 9.
- WHITSETT, DANIEL C. "The Churches Speak on Race Relations," in *The Road to Brotherhood: Views on Race Relations with Resources and Suggestions for Action*. Chicago: General Board of Social and Economic Relations of The Methodist Church, 1958.
- "A Deep South Pastor Looks at Segregation." *The New Christian Advocate*, 2 (February, 1958), 8-11.
- WICKLEIN, JOHN. "Atlanta Leading in Negroes' Gains." *The New York Times*, 108 (July 6, 1959), 1, 14.
- WILLIAMS, JOHN BELL. *Where Is the Reign of Terror?* Greenwood, Miss.: Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, 1956.

WILLIAMS, ROBIN M., JR. *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions: A Survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Group Relations*. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947.

WILLIAMS, ROBIN M., JR., AND RYAN, MARGARET W. (ed.). *Schools in Transition: Community Experiences in Desegregation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954.

WIRTH, LOUIS. "The Problem of Minority Groups," in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, edited by Ralph Linton. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.

———"Segregation," in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, edited by R. A. Seligman. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934.

WOODWARD, C. VANN. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955.

World Council of Churches. *The Church and the Disorder of Society*. Vol. III of *Man's Disorder and God's Design: The Amsterdam Assembly Series*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948.

———*The Evanston Report: The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955.

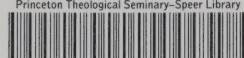
World Council of Churches, Preparatory Commission V on Intergroup Relations. "The Church Amid Racial and Ethnic Tensions," in *The Christian Hope and the Task of the Church*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954.



DATE DUE	
~~MAY 11 27 '80~~	
~~NCT 1 2 '84~~	
~~MAN 2 5 1997~~	
JAN 10 2013	
GAYLORD	PRINTED IN U.S.A.

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.



ALSO PUBLISHED BY PUBLIC AFFAIRS PRESS

CHRISTIANS IN RACIAL CRISIS

By ERNEST Q. CAMPBELL and THOMAS F. PETTIGREW

An appraisal of the conduct of the clergymen of Little Rock during recent crises in that city. Prepared under the auspices of the Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University. Includes statements on desegregation and race relations by the leading religious denominations of the United States. (\$3.50)

SOUTHERN RACE PROGRESS

By THOMAS J. WOOFTER

Written by one of the nation's leading experts on race relations, this book has been acclaimed by Southerners as well as Northerners. Dr. Woolter, a former President of the Population Association of America, writes with the viewpoint and background of a Southerner who has been a prominent participant in the activities of organizations which have sought to improve race relations. (\$3.50)

PROFILE IN BLACK AND WHITE

By HOWARD H. QUINT

Race relations in South Carolina, especially the lengths to which its white citizens "are willing to go to maintain a caste system of society," is the principal subject of this timely and provocative book. Its author was a member of the faculty of the University of South Carolina for 11 years before recently resigning his position so as not to embarrass the university through publication of his book. It is a major work on race relations because of its scope and thoroughness.—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. (\$4.50)

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PRESS, 419 New Jersey Avenue, Washington, D. C.